

# FREEDOM

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inside

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## editorial

Well, what are we going to do about 1984, and Thatcher's era of double-think? Poorer getting robbed by richer in the name of self-reliance; hospitals closing, doctors jobless, people dying who need not, in the name of economic recovery; all of us threatened with an especially nasty death in the name of freedom?

Lib-Lab journalists express astonishment that Thatcherism's attack on the welfare state has met with so little resistance. They forget what is Thatcher's strength, that people still like the words 'self-reliance' and 'freedom'; that the welfare state is often still rightly seen as name-and-number regimentation, faceless bureaucracy, unfreedom, humiliation, indignity. The sad thing for anarchists is that the good words have been expropriated. And just at a time when with

## WALK OUT OR CAVE IN?

The factor which has preoccupied the press this week regarding the banning of trades unions at GCHQ — Britain's 'Intelligence' centre at Cheltenham — has not been the banning of the unions, it has been *the manner* in which the government's decision was presented to the nation.

In fact we are wrong to say the 'government's' decision, because it would seem that the decision was taken a long time ago and has been worked upon and now brought forward on the commands of no more than four of what can loosely be called the members of 'our' government. Yet another gang of

This quite unacceptable slur upon the national character must have cut Sir Brian to the quick, for he swiftly realised that he must do something about it. It was as long ago as 1980 that he began to draw up his plans for eliminating union membership from among the people who work at GCHQ. Just why he didn't bring it all forward at the time when the 'disruption' — which incidentally has been proudly declared by the union to have been no disruption at all — was still in the public mind is difficult to understand, just as why he didn't start discussions with the various staff associations to come to certain 'forward' agreements in all

body knows how loyal they all were and how they would have given the government everything it wanted — but democratically, as though speaking for the people. It all turns out to be something like 'Give him a fair trial — and then hang him!'

It was a foregone conclusion that all the respectable organs of the system would have recognised the national interest and how we really must not upset the leaders of the free world in the Pentagon.

But where do we stand, with rather different ideas about what a free world might mean if we should ever get it? Having taken a drubbing recently for our cool attitude to the trades unions, are we now not prepared to come out and fight for the right of *all* workers to join the trade union of their choice? Well, yes, all right then, we are for the right of all workers to join the trade union of their choice — enshrined as the Right of Association in the Bill of Human Rights etc, etc.

But what about *these* workers, comrades? What about the plants in which they live and work? Part of the warfare state, part of the process which ends up with Cruise and Pershing, they are no less enemies of the people than the riot cop, the

society. From the point of view of FREEDOM, the ghouls who work there have several choices. They can just ignore the State's directions and continue going in to work as though nothing has happened. That is the least they should do, if they have any dignity or any concept of the freedoms they are supposed to be defending.

When their employers react, as they surely will, since you can't flout the State when it happens to be your employer, they should occupy the premises — which they do 24 hours a day already — and *really* pull the switches until the government yields to this simple Human Right. And if the government sends in the heavies to winkle them out, they should *all* walk out and leave the plant unmanned and unwomaned completely. A chance to prove the workers are essential!

The State depends upon the servile support of the workers. The warfare state will continue to flourish *while* enough members of the working class continue to support it and *until* enough of them refuse to.

But what is happening now? Not only the pathetic Mr Blogg (does he really exist, or was he dreamed up by a *Sunday Times* copy-taker?) has



# OR CAVE IN?

Well, what are we going to do about 1984, and Thatcher's era of double-think? Poorer getting robbed by richer in the name of self-reliance; hospitals closing, doctors jobless, people dying who need not, in the name of economic recovery; all of us threatened with an especially nasty death in the name of freedom?

Lib-Lab journalists express astonishment that Thatcherism's attack on the welfare state has met with so little resistance. They forget what is Thatcher's strength, that people still like the words 'self-reliance' and 'freedom'; that the welfare state is often still rightly seen as name-and-number regimentation, faceless bureaucracy, unfreedom, humiliation, indignity. The sad thing for anarchists is that the good words have been expropriated. And just at a time when, with Labour socialism bowed down under its own breathtaking lack of imagination, the real libertarians should be being heard.

Many anarchists celebrated Thatcher's return to power; they drank to her in what the Germans call *Schadenfreude*, imagining that things would get so bad there might be a revolution. But the only revolution taking place right now is Thatcher's, and the anarchists remain small and insignificant. And it's not because anarchic women are too immersed in the culture of the women's movement; nor because anarchic men are too obsessed with insurrectionary romanticism; nor because we're all too paranoid to even march under an Anarchist Federation banner every now and then. Or at least it's not only because of these things. It's because we're a small group of critics, sharp on criticism but bad on performance. We talk of being agitational and shout good slogans, like THE RIGHT NOT TO WORK! FREE ALL PRISONERS! BE REALIST, DE-

The factor which has preoccupied the press this week regarding the banning of trades unions at GCHQ — Britain's 'Intelligence' centre at Cheltenham — has not been the banning of the unions, it has been the manner in which the government's decision was presented to the nation.

In fact we are wrong to say the 'government's' decision, because it would seem that the decision was taken a long time ago and has been worked upon and now brought forward on the commands of no more than four of what can loosely be called the members of 'our' government. Yet another gang of four, you might say.

We whittle it down still further. Only three of the decision-makers are, strictly speaking, members of our duly elected, democratic government: Mrs Thatcher herself, Sir Geoffrey Howe, foreign secretary, and Michael Heseltine, defence secretary, plus someone most of us had never heard of before this week: Sir Brian Tovey, ex-chief of GCHQ, who retired four months ago, having master-minded the whole anti-union coup.

This last mentioned creep is one of that small army of top civil servants who effectively run the state machine. And we didn't have to see 'Yes, Minister' to realise that, for anarchists have been saying for years that although governments (ie, parliamentary majorities) may change from decade to decade, the state goes on for ever. Far from influencing and directing the state machine, except in a very few cases, it is the state machine which whips the parliamentary ministers into line.

This quite unacceptable slur upon the national character must have cut Sir Brian to the quick, for he swiftly realised that he must do something about it. It was as long ago as 1980 that he began to draw up his plans for eliminating union membership from among the people who work at GCHQ. Just why he didn't bring it all forward at the time when the 'disruption' — which incidentally has been proudly declared by the union to have been no disruption at all — was still in the public mind is difficult to understand, just as why he didn't start discussions with the various staff associations to come to certain 'safeguard' agreements is all still a bit mysterious. Could it be that he wanted to be well out of the way before the storm broke? He retired, on his index-linked pension, at the ripe old age of 58, last September.

What is ironic about the timing is that Sir Geoffrey Howe made his announcement to the House of Commons while Maggie was on a trip to Hungary — where they understand only too well the necessity of keeping the unions under the thumb of the state — but of course, there they don't ban them altogether — they just fill the top echelons with party members and make sure they are state unions in exactly the same way that 'syndicates' under Franco in Spain were state syndicates.

Here we come back to what we opened with — that the hoo-hah that has broken out in Parliament and in the unions is much more concerned with the manner of the announcement than with its substance. Why, plaintively ask the unions and the various staff

It was a foregone conclusion that all the respectable organs of the system would have recognised the national interest and how we really must not upset the leaders of the free world in the Pentagon.

But where do we stand, with rather different ideas about what a free world might mean if we should ever get it? Having taken a drubbing recently for our cool attitude to the trades unions, are we now not prepared to come out and fight for the right of all workers to join the trade union of their choice? Well, yes, all right then, we are for the right of all workers to join the trade union of their choice — enshrined as the Right of Association in the Bill of Human Rights etc, etc.

But what about *these* workers, comrades? What about the plants in which they live and work? Part of the warfare state, part of the process which ends up with Cruise and Pershing, they are no less enemies of the people than the riot cop, the SAS, the CIA, the KGB or any other set of initials you can think of. If they are at this moment trying to defend their right to belong to a trade union, do you think it is for class conscious reasons?

The *Sunday Times*, which blew the story about Sir Brian Tovey, also quoted a 39 year old design engineer (and what was he designing, you may ask) as saying 'As a body we have strength, but I don't know. With a wife and family, who can afford principles?' He seemed to be called Mr Blogg, which also seemed about right.

At the risk of upsetting even more pro trade union readers, let us make ourselves blatantly clear — to the limit of our libertarian vocabulary: Fuck GCHQ and all who work in it. This creepy establishment is part of the cold war, the hot war, the nuclear war, the despicable

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But what is happening now? Not only the pathetic Mr Blogg (does he really exist, or was he dreamed up by a *Sunday Times* copy-taker?) has betrayed his weakness; the unions are now bending over backwards — or do we mean forwards? — to show how understanding they are about the national importance, security, etc, etc, of the job and its 7,000 membership fees, by implying that they are ever so ready to sign 'no disruption' clauses, no strike, no work to rule, no compulsory arbitration — no bloody nothing!

As we go to press, unsubstantiated figures are being put forward saying that of the 7,000 employed at Cheltenham (there are another 3,000 around the country at other listening posts) 5,000 belong to unions, and already 1,800 have signed up to quit the union and collect their £1,000 — which turns out to be about £670 after the State has clawed back its tax! What price trade union solidarity?

PS



NOW, GOTH SAY:  
'A GOTTLE



Many anarchists celebrated Thatcher's return to power; they drank to her in what the Germans call *Schadenfreude*, imagining that things would get so bad there might be a revolution. But the only revolution taking place right now is Thatcher's, and the anarchists remain small and insignificant. And it's not because anarchic women are too immersed in the culture of the women's movement; nor because anarchic men are too obsessed with insurrectionary romanticism; nor because we're all too paranoid to even march under an Anarchist Federation banner every now and then. Or at least it's not only because of these things. It's because we're a small group of critics, sharp on criticism but bad on performance. We talk of being agitational and shout good slogans, like **THE RIGHT NOT TO WORK! FREE ALL PRISONERS! BE REALIST, DEMAND THE IMPOSSIBLE!** But having provoked people into asking the obvious questions, we hesitate; we can't get any further.

We must stop being afraid of visualising the future, of visualising blueprints. We have to think a hundred percent more about the kind (or kinds) of society we want to see in this country; how it would cope with the (possibly numerous) dissenters; how (if at all) it would defend itself; what its attitude would be if not to law, then to justice; whether, indeed, there would be any one anarchist society, or several different societies, and whether we should ever be capable of the complexity of structure that our ideas involve.

This isn't intellectual wanking. It's trying to come to grips with real, basic ideas. Until we do this, until, as it were, we take our arm-chairs with us to the streets, we'll get nowhere. And the desert will go on spreading around us.

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Since it is the heads of civil service departments who feel themselves responsible for the behaviour of their subordinates, no doubt Sir Brian felt duly ashamed over the fact that from 1979 to 1981, the unimaginable happened — his subordinates practiced certain forms of direct action in support of union claims which indicated they were not all the supine sheep he had hoped they were.

But don't build too many hopes on that, comrades. The line between sheep and supine sheep is a very thin one and the militants of 1980 are now protesting that at no time was 'national security' threatened by their so-called 'militant' action. Nevertheless, the 'intermittent union disruption' was enough to disturb the Americans, who regard GCHQ as their listening ear to Europe, and make them say, according to Sir Brian: 'Oh Lord, we don't know whether we can rely on the Brits'.

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Here we come back to what we opened with — that the hoo-hah that has broken out in Parliament and in the unions is much more concerned with the manner of the announcement than with its substance. Why, plaintively ask the unions and the various staff associations — including the aptly named 'First Division Association' for the top people — did the government not come and discuss it all with us first? We would, they say, willingly have come to an agreement on a non-striking clause, just as have our colleagues in MI5 and MI6, and, for that matter, the police association and the prison warders and the gas and electricity workers. Once you work in the organisations of the state you become no subjects, but *objects* of the state.

And the democrats in the Mother of Parliaments, dedicated to the defence of democracy, freedom of the individual, human rights as laid down in all that crap about Human Rights in Strasburg and Luxembourg and Geneva and emanating from Nuremburg and signed by goons from Moscow no less than from London and Washington — all these complained about not having been consulted first, when every-

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## ALF — BEWARE OF RACISM!

I was disturbed to read, in *FREE-DOM* of 17th January, a report of an ALF Action in Norwood, S London.

The report stated that 'In a midnight attack an ALF Group smashed the reinforced plate glass window of a Halal Butcher's shop in Knightsbridge, West Norwood...'

This area of South London is an area of extreme racial tension. The NF is very active, the police act in a highly discriminatory fashion, and the Asian and West Indian communities consider themselves, with some justification, to be in a state of siege. In May 1981, in nearby Thornton Heath there occurred the murder of Terence May, a white youth who was killed by a group of young Blacks, apparently being mistaken for an 'NFer', after a series of racist attacks by Fascist groups.

Against this background, the ALF action against the Halal butcher can only be seen as highly irrespon-

sible, and provocative in a way which I doubt the authors of the action even considered.

To the local Black community, this action can only be interpreted in one way, as a racist attack, and, therefore can only serve to divide and alienate us further along lines of race, when of course what we need so desperately is solidarity. And in one sense, this ill-conceived action *is* a racist attack, it is an example of cultural imperialism. I am reminded of other 'Animal Rights' activists, who, for example condemn Inuit (Eskimo) people for hunting whales, ignoring the fact that, were the Inuit to stop their very small-scale whaling, it would be the end of their unique and ancient culture.

The ALF action is effectively saying that Animal Rights activists, whose politics are a development of White, Western liberalism, have the right, the duty even (manifest destiny?), to impose the results of

their philosophy upon other cultures.

One wonders what these activists would make of the Masai of East Africa, for example, who sustain themselves on their nomadic wanderings in the dry season by periodically draining the blood of living cattle and mixing it with the cattle's milk. What would the ALF suggest? That the Masai give up their ancient culture and go to work on plantations or factories as many native people have been forced to do by capitalism's expansion into the 3rd World?

Of course, I find the ritual slaughter of animals for food repugnant. I am a vegetarian, and have previously supported the ALF actions against the 'Animal Belsens' of the multi-nationals and the government.

But this forces me to ask, why, when there exist places such as Porton Down, which threaten and

are an affront to *all* life — animal, vegetable and human — why even bother attacking a Halal butchers?

Recently I have seen a poster by an Animal Rights Group on the streets, attacking 'Jewish Ritual Slaughter'. It was only after careful examination of the poster that I could ascertain that it was a piece of Animal Liberation propaganda, and not a piece of Nazi propaganda.

At best such posters and actions are the result of ignorance and unconscious anglocentricity among Animal Rights activists, and at worst...?

Well, there are statements from ultra-right groups expressing their intention to subvert such popular movements such as anti-nuclear movements and unemployed groups. Could not they be exploiting the Animal Liberation movement?

Yours for revolution.

MV Diboll

## EDUCATION FOR WHAT?

So the NUT have taken to the streets along with NALGO etc, to save ILEA and our schools education system from the machete of the Tories.

Now this sounds OK in principle because we all know that if it is replaced by Tory education system, it will be devised to keep our children stupid.

But before we all jump on the bandwagon and start wearing 'save our schools' SOS badges let's take a look at what the ILEA system has to offer... Not a lot.

I'm against, as should be all anarchists, the proposed Tory system and the present ILEA system of education.

It seems, judging from most other anarchists I've spoken to lead-

ing to their individual ability in individual lessons. What is actually taught in schools is a load of bull-shit anyway, but that's another whole area of argument.

As a footnote I first became interested and started calling myself an anarchist at 13, in the third year of my secondary school. My essays on 'Anarchist approaches to Education' in English and my read-aloud

## OBJECTION!

I would like to protest against the criticisms of the Middlesborough comrades by PS in the article on the Warrington Picket 'Anarchists and Unions' *FREEDOM* Vol 45, No 1, 14/1/84.

Far from defending the closed

passages from 'compulsory mis-education' in English lit. and my essays on Proudhon etc in history only succeeded in getting me demoted from class 1 to class 3. But the seeds had been planted and there are now quite a few young anarchists in schools that I keep in contact with. The future of Anarchism seems to be picking up!

Let us as anarchists stand against

the Tories and ILEA. And never let any of us underestimate the importance of education. It's the schools where the system first instills its morals and misconceptions of life and how to live it into the minds of the young.

Paul Hope  
Wimbledon

jobs back and what's more, NUJ members have now been given the boot by Shah for daring to defy his will.

Also printworkers aren't as mercenary as stated in the last paragraph of the article. They have ex-

ballot the *Sun* did on the miners' overtime ban.

If I remember rightly it was also the printworkers who held a meeting against the disgusting cheque-book journalism of the 'Yorkshire Ripper' case where the mother of



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I'm against, as should be all anarchists, the proposed Tory system and the present ILEA system of education.

It seems, judging from most other anarchists I've spoken to leading up to the NUT/ILEA march, that they sympathise and take sides with ILEA against the Tories, when we should be campaigning for something much more radical. That is, to stop the Tories and to smash ILEA.

I can talk about, and criticise, ILEA's system with much experience having left school only five years ago, and nothing much has changed.

The biggest thing under the ILEA umbrella is secondary comprehensive education, which is supposed to mean that 'ordinary' children from a working class background stand the same educational chance as children who are sent to private Grammar schools.

Take my case. I left primary school with maximum examination marks and was considered to be Grammar school material. Sounds good doesn't it? But what the examination consisted of was standing in the Headmistress's office taking a spelling test. If you were able to spell a word like 'fatigue' you were A1 material.

The next step is to get a place in a good comprehensive school, as

according to their individual ability in individual lessons. What is actually taught in schools is a load of bull-shit anyway, but that's another whole area of argument.

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Far from defending the closed shop, the political levy and male domination, the comrades were giving support to workers in their struggle against the law (mass picketing is now illegal) and the riot police (whose violence had to be seen to be believed) which are the main instruments the state uses to defend capitalism.

A comrade was grabbed and beaten and then arrested, and then had to pay a £60 fine to the state. I find sneering references to 'Warrington warriors' and total misrepresentation of their ideas really objectionable.

The idea that Shah is at all more 'libertarian' than the NGA is disproved by the fact that the six workers involved have not got their

## CONCRETE EXPERIENCES

Last December I spent five days at Risley Remand Centre, after refusing to pay court costs imposed on me for obstruction at the Upper Heyford blockade. I had expected

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Also printworkers aren't as mercenary as stated in the last paragraph of the article. They have exercised workers' censorship several times and only recently added their own objection underneath a phoney

## A COMPLIMENT YET!

I must compliment you on the quality of your publication, in particular Allen and Riggs' 'Kronstadt Kids' — what excellent parody of Class War!

Oh, by the way the 'Stop the City' on the 29th of March appears to be extending itself as an anti-oppression demonstration/occupation, rather than purely focussing on 'profit before people' or the links between profit and war.

Instead a whole range of issues are being raised — animal rights, sexism, racism 3rd world exploit-

the Tories and ILEA. And never let any of us underestimate the importance of education. It's the schools where the system first instills its morals and misconceptions of life and how to live it into the minds of the young.

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**Tim Ball**

ation, exploitation of the world's resources. However I believe that by increasing the number of issues to raise and protest against, we fall into the possible trap which CND has fallen into — ie, of making our aims too vague. I am however optimistic concerning this point, and believe that this year's 'Stop the City' will be very successful. Meetings are still occurring weekly at the Ambulance Station (306, Old Kent Road) at 6pm on Mondays.

**Adam Sleeman**  
*(member of North London Poly Anarchists)*

ing putting themselves into a similar position or who are already facing jail, and to people who are interested in learning more about, and campaigning around, prisons. I'll send a copy to anyone who sends me £1 plus 20p postage.

The cassette is unedited and therefore quite confused in places, but I think that this helps out the



**FREEDOM**  
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**We reserve the right to cut  
letters unless otherwise  
specified by the author.**

**All signed articles reflect  
the opinion of the authors,  
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ford private education. I ended up  
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what the bad ones were like).

I got placed in the top class. And  
this is where the problems set in.  
The years are set up of eight classes,  
class 1 top, class eight bottom. There  
are about forty children in each  
class, with one teacher in each lesson  
trying to communicate with them.  
When they place you in a class from  
1 to 8, it is based on your overall  
ability. Thus if one is excellent in  
Maths but poor in English, and hap-  
pened to be in class 1, all the lessons  
that pupil takes will be top stream  
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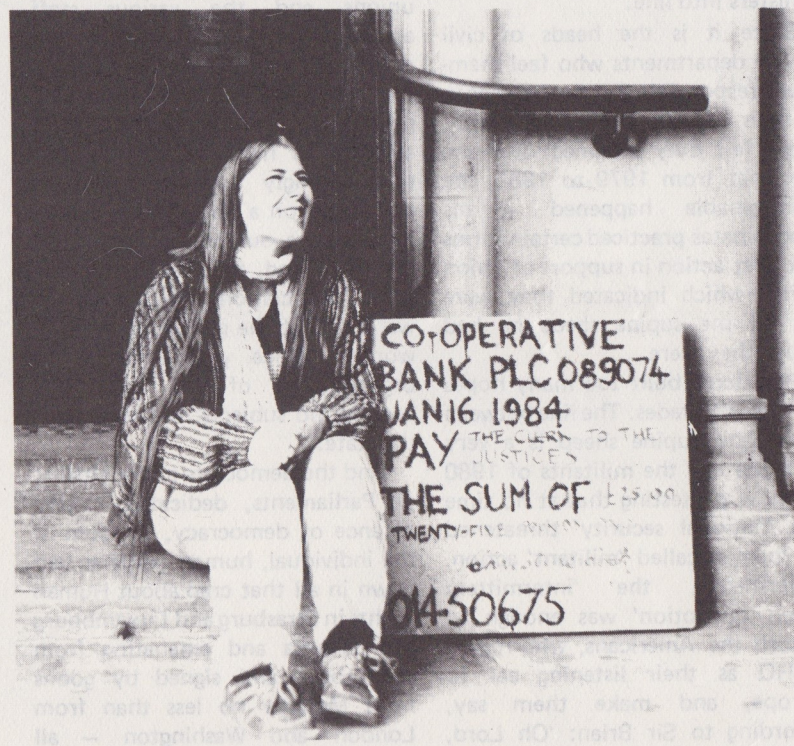
it to worse than I could imagine —  
and it *was* worse than I could  
imagine. I have recorded my  
experiences onto a cassette, which  
would be useful to women consider-

ing putting themselves into a  
similar position or who are already  
facing jail, and to people who are  
interested in learning more about,  
and campaigning around, prisons.  
I'll send a copy to anyone who  
sends me £1 plus 20p postage.

The cassette is unedited and  
therefore quite confused in places,  
but I think that this brings out the  
emotional impact of imprisonment  
better than a polished piece of  
writing would do. I hope it will be  
helpful.

**Chris Cook**

c/o Box C, Mushroom,  
10 Heathcote Street, Nottingham.



*Photo shows Chris Cook trying  
really hard to pay Stop the City  
court costs. The offence was spray  
painting, so it seemed appropriate  
to spray a cheque onto a paving  
slab — but the Guildhall refused to  
accept it. 'We don't have the  
manpower to handle this'.*

*After a short and absurd argu-  
ment we all departed, leaving the  
cheque behind. Is it still there, we  
wonder, or has the manpower to  
remove it been found?*



In spite of the fact that orthodox politics was never held in such low esteem; in spite of the manifest failure of the established institutions to solve the problems confronting human society, the anarchist alternative does not seem to make the headway it should. Circulation of anarchist papers remains small. There is a plethora of small and quarrelling groups. Such small esoteric groups remain out of touch with their fellow human beings.

### Anarchist Doublethink — Black and Pink

The feature of state and capitalist society that is most objectionable is the way it forces individuals to engage in activities that are at least of doubtful value and in many cases harmful to society as a whole. There is no respect for people and when they are deemed of no further use they are dismissed. There are caucuses that struggle for power and that use their power to advance their point of view in the arrogant belief that it is 100% right.

Governments do things and make decisions under a veil of secrecy. In the small world of so-called anarchist activity this has also been the case since I can remember, in life and actions, little different from the society we con-

demn. The fiercest attacks are reserved for comrades (I suppose it is a soft option) intolerant as the bigots who dominate Northern Ireland, and as narrow as the Islamic sects that are dominating much of the world.

### Not a Sect but a Panoramic View

For a view of life to gain universal acceptance, there has to be a point of contact. To come out of one's shell, hiss at the world, and then retreat within that armour is to make sure that one's influence will remain confined to that shell. Anarchist concepts are so panoramic that they can touch most people. The satisfying of human needs is so uncomplicated, that most people can understand the way this could be accomplished without the obstacles that a market society puts in the way.

### Carry your Anarchism home

Anarchism is a different animal from the ideological box that a party man carries in his head. It is a relationship one has with friend, lover, workmate, playmate, children and society *now*, not in some

utopian future. If we start with our comrades, perhaps it will become a wider reality.

### Working in Collectives

Individualism in England has a very strong influence. It is a concept that has been fostered by capitalist industrial society to the disadvantage of the working class particularly.

Collective working, controlled by the state as practised in Soviet Russia, has turned people off the idea of working in a collective manner. But the power of the big international corporations to dominate the economic structure of the West lies in their ability to act collectively and to dominate the state in their own interests.

Yet to produce human needs and to distribute produce fairly and to avoid the tensions that unequal distribution brings, it is necessary to introduce the sort of collectivisation that occurred in Spain in 1936.

There are several factors that make collective working difficult that derive from the conditioning imposed upon individuals by a

hierarchical system. The conditioning of children carried out by parents or surrogates influence those who accept anarchist thought and ideas intellectually and then behave according to the patterns imposed by their conditioning.

Knee jerk reaction to current hardline political attitudes merely reflects the attitudes and behaviour of the society that anarchists are trying to alter. This includes behaviour in every field of contact that one has with other people. The temptation for those with strong personality and the ability to verbalise to impose their views upon other less certain people in a group is great. The sheer ability of people to listen to their own voices, and nobody else's, is one of the difficulties of working in a collective situation. To nail a social organisation to a collection of ideological concepts, religious or political, is the way hierarchical structures work and they ultimately destroy that part of human society, the individual, that can modify the collective structure to a more basic humanity.

Toleration of other individuals

and their points of view is the first essential in running an anarchist collective. Time and time again the collapse of a project has been preceded by one dominating individual seeking to impose his views on others, which merely reproduces what happens in hierarchical society. It is difficult enough to do things within a hostile society without the behaviour of that society being carried into it.

There have been attempts more recently to try different methods of reaching decisions and to encourage everyone to participate in reaching decisions. In fighting is so prevalent among extremist leftist groups and is an intolerable waste of energy.

Another source of difficulty is the control of resources by one or two members of a group and the temptation to use those resources to override the opinions of other members of the group. I do not think that any of these problems are insurmountable, but if we cannot deal with them now — what price the new society?

Alan Albon

# British Anarchism of the '80s

It is ironic that at a time when the London Underground is plastered with posters issued by the Spastics Society, urging the general public to recognise that handicapped people can live normal lives (whatever that may be!), the Catholic hierarchy is banning the marriage of a disabled ex-soldier to a perfectly healthy nurse!

The Spastics Society's posters carry slogans like: 'They said Fred would never walk, work or wed' — and

## Fire that Canon!

display. He is 31, and his fiancée, 29, has been married before, but in a registry office, to a Muslim—so in Catholic eyes that cannot count, can it? Just as well, really, for divorce would be one more reason for the church frowning upon this union of souls.

not being like Himself infallible, had stupidly written for advice and is now wishing he had kept his silly trap shut.

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The Spastics Society's posters carry slogans like: 'They said Fred would never walk, work or wed' —and there is a picture of happy Fred on the arm of his new bride outside the church. Or 'When they said George and Ivy should be in an institution, this was not what they meant' —again showing a happy couple newly wed in spite of their Down's Syndrome.

On the other hand, the followers of gentle Jesus who claim the right to tell everybody else how to live their lives have brought up heavy ecclesiastical guns to prevent two persons who love each other from getting together in a loving union.

The man was obviously at one time A1, for he became a PT instructor in the army but is now paralysed from the neck down following an accident while taking part in a gymnastics

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The row over all this blew up last week when one celibate old man in Nottingham wrote to another celibate (the most celibate of all, no doubt) in Rome, asking him to consult with all the other celibate old men in his Palace as to whether it was in line with Canon Law that Steven and Ilona in Borrowash, Derbyshire, England, in this year of grace 1984, should be allowed to suffer marital rites, that they may sleep together without committing mortal sin.

Flipping through the Canon Laws, one sharp-eyed celibate spotted Canon Number 1084 which states that 'antecedent and perpetual impotence invalidates marriage'—and while it is all right to get married

*wing* that your partner is impotent (how *could* you know, *before* marriage?) or sterile—which, in either case, can become grounds for annulment under Catholic law—it is not on for a couple to go into marriage knowing that procreation of children is not possible.

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For, apart from two disappointed and bewildered young people, the Church is now discovering that it has opened a can of worms, for lowly Catholic priests around the country are now chipping in with the information that they regularly look the other way if anything unusual crops up to stand in the way of a forthcoming marriage. As for making sure that the marriage can be consummated, one Catholic informant said 'I know priests who wouldn't dream of asking such a thing. If someone volunteered the information, they'd be told to shut up!'

Probably, in view of the ever-increasing number of couples who don't get married anyway, the clerics at the parish level are only too glad to get *somebody* through their doors. Not to be outdone in pragmatism, Church of England spokespersons (ho,ho) are now chipping in with the information that so many couples live together before getting married that they tend not to ask too many questions when fixing up the nuptials, or noting the colour of the bride's dress.

Apparently canon law lays down



As anarchists we are not going to get worked up about anybody's right to marry, for we are against the institution itself. What we are worked up about is this stupid attempt by an authoritarian hierarchy to stand in the way of individuals finding happiness on their own —and, indeed, expressing the love that is supposed to be the basis of Christianity.

Come to think of it though—that is not the love that is the basis of Christianity. That is the love of God, love of Jesus, love of the

Our advice (which has not been asked for) to Ilona and Steven is to take all this as a salutary lesson. Get out while the going's good, live your own lives and find happiness in your love for each other—and good luck!

Justin

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Accra, capital of Ghana, has had its lighting cut off for two weeks as a punishment for failing to reduce its electric consumption according to official targets.

A new law in Greece bans passengers from talking to taxi drivers 'about subjects unrelated to their services', and drivers are ordered to be 'polite, willing and well-dressed'.

A Bill to allow abortion in certain circumstances has been passed in Portugal, 'Marxist-Atheist bloc restores the death penalty', according to a Christian Democrat newspaper.

In case anyone was beginning to worry, Neil Kinnock has promised that the next Labour government will introduce a Freedom of Information Act.

Extra police have been deployed in Bangkok to track down a man who knives foreigners in the back. Authorities are worried because the case has a negative impact on tourism.

A 17 year old in Dallas hanged herself after a row with her parents about what to watch on television.

celibate (the most celibate of all, no doubt) in Rome, asking him to consult with all the other celibate old men in his Palace as to whether it was in line with Canon Law that Steven and Ilona in Borrowash, Derbyshire, England, in this year of grace 1984, should be allowed to suffer marital rites, that they may sleep together without committing mortal sin.

Flipping through the Canon Laws, one sharp-eyed celibate spotted Canon Number 1084 which states that 'antecedent and perpetual impotence invalidates marriage'—and while it is all right to get married *wing* that your partner is impotent (how *could* you know, *before* marriage?) or sterile—which, in either case, can become grounds for annulment under Catholic law—it is not on for a couple to go into marriage knowing that procreation of children is not possible.

So the super-celibate in the Vatican spoke from on high to the lesser celibate in Nottingham (the Bishop of Nottingham himself, the Right Rev James McGuinness, probably a descendant of that other high dignity of the city, the Sheriff of Nottingham, Sir Guy de Guisbourne — note the similarity of the name — who never had to bother with such problems from Robin Hood) who,

look the other way if anything unusual crops up to stand in the way of a forthcoming marriage. As for making sure that the marriage can be consummated, one Catholic informant said 'I know priests who wouldn't dream of asking such a thing. If someone volunteered the information, they'd be told to shut up!'

Probably, in view of the ever-increasing number of couples who don't get married anyway, the clerics at the parish level are only too glad to get *somebody* through their doors. Not to be outdone in pragmatism, Church of England spokespersons (ho,ho) are now chipping in with the information that so many couples live together before getting married that they tend not to ask too many questions when fixing up the nuptials, or noting the colour of the bride's dress. Apparently canon law lays down that there are three requirements to the proper Christian sexual act (all relating to the man, incidentally, but not surprisingly) and are: erection, penetration and ejaculation. Innocently, the woman in this case is quoted as saying that her intended is in fact capable of the first two of these. How does she know, I ask myself?

As anarchists we are not going to get worked up about anybody's right to marry, for we are against the institution itself. What we are worked up about is this stupid attempt by an authoritarian hierarchy to stand in the way of individuals finding happiness on their own —and, indeed, expressing the love that is supposed to be the basis of Christianity.

Come to think of it though—that is not the love that is the basis of Christianity. That is the love of God, love of Jesus, love of the Virgin Mary, love of the Church, and you scramble into this loving set-up when you produce another little Catholic to swell the ranks and keep the Church eternal through succeeding generations. Sexual love is original sin—and you sublimate all that by serving the Church. If you can't do that, you don't get much sympathy for your own needs.

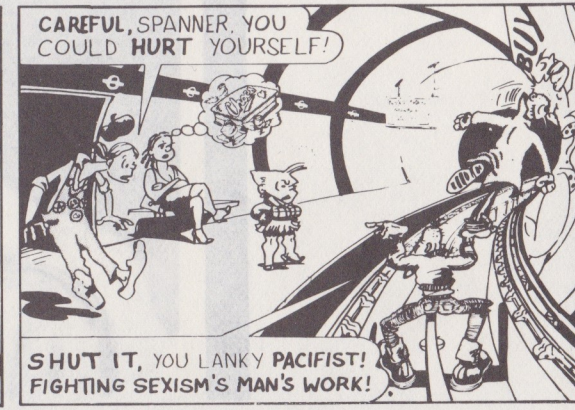
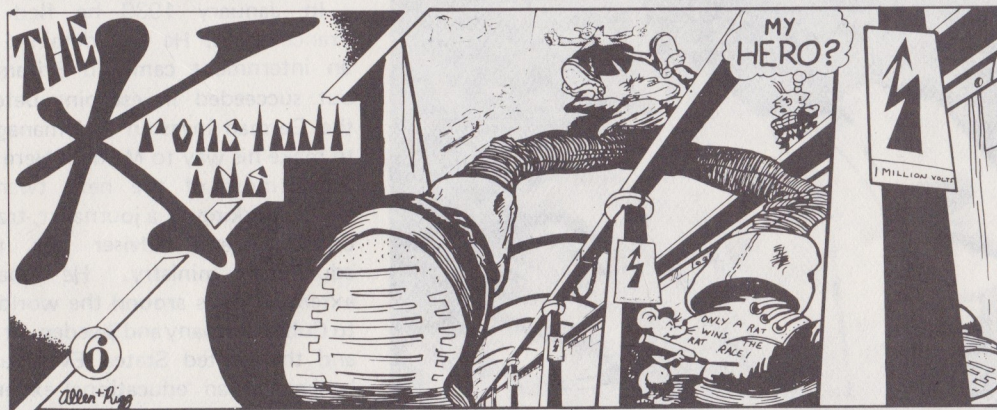
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### LATER:

The above article was written for our last issue, but was left out. Since then matters have altered somewhat, in that the Catholic Church has backed down completely and withdrawn its objections to this 'contentious' marriage.

Too late, however. We are glad to report that Ilona and Steven have decided that they don't need the church's blessing after all. They are getting married in a Registry Office and boo-sucks to the Pope. Which was the gist of our unasked-for advice!





Two of the best-known veterans of the international anarchist movement have died during the past few months —Diego Abad de Santillan in Spain, and Augustin Souchy in Germany. The following obituary articles have been written by experts —that of Santillan comes from the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam, and that of Souchy has been put together from contributions by two German comrades.  
NW

# AUGUSTIN SOUCHY

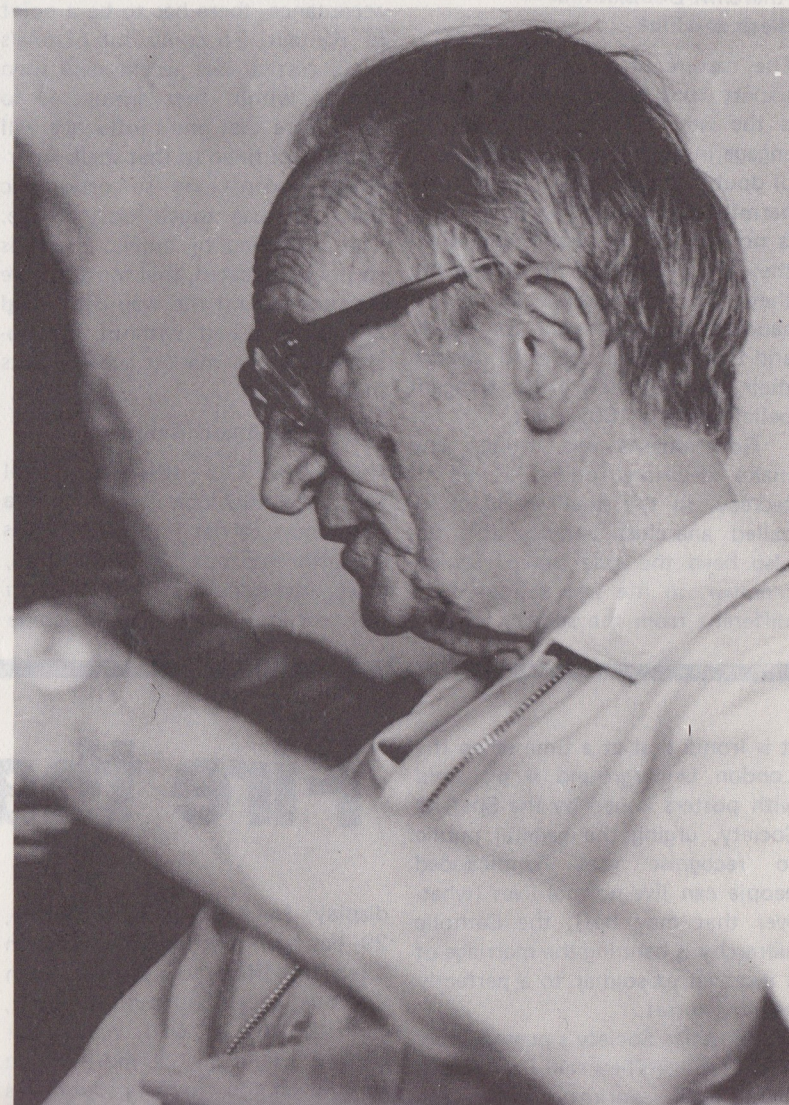
Augustin Souchy Bauer died in Munich on 1st January 1984. He was the best known German anarchist in recent years and a veteran of most of the important revolutions of the twentieth century.

Souchy was born on 28th August 1892 in Ratibor in Silesia in East Germany (now Raciborz in Poland, which absorbed Silesia in 1945). His father was a craftsman and his family was socialist. Augustin began agitating for the Social-Democratic Party in Berlin in about 1910. He seems to have got his first introduction to anarchism from the lectures of Eugen Heinrich Schmitt, who had worked with Johann Most in the early years of the *Freiheit* and had for many years been the centre of anarchist activities in Hungary. By the time Souchy met him he had largely abandoned anarchism, being mainly preoccupied with gnosticism, but he continued to propagate his own form of religious anarchism under the influence of Tolstoy. Souchy then met Gustav Landauer, and joined his Socialist League in 1911.

At the beginning of the First World War in 1914 Souchy was arrested in Vienna (his warrant read *Beware! Anarchist!* which eventually provided the title of his autobiography) and handed over to the German authorities. But he

Soviet Union. He attended the crucial second congress of the Communist International (Comintern), which established the international influence of the Russian Communists and which decided to found the Red Trade Union International (Profintern) to mobilise the international labour movement in support of the Russian regime. Souchy met the leaders of the international syndicalist movement, especially Angel Pestana from Spain, and also the internationalist anarchists then working with the Russian regime, especially Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman. (Souchy appears in the memoirs of both Goldman and Berkman, and also in those of Victor Serge). He not only interviewed Lenin in Moscow but also Kropotkin in Dmitrov, and he spent several months travelling around Russia to see for himself how the re-organisation of the economy was working and how the ordinary people were living. The result was one of the most important early books on the fate of the Russian revolution — *Wie lebt der Arbeiter und Bauer in Russland?* (How do the Worker and Peasant live in Russia?, published in Berlin in 1921, reprinted with a new introduction in 1978).

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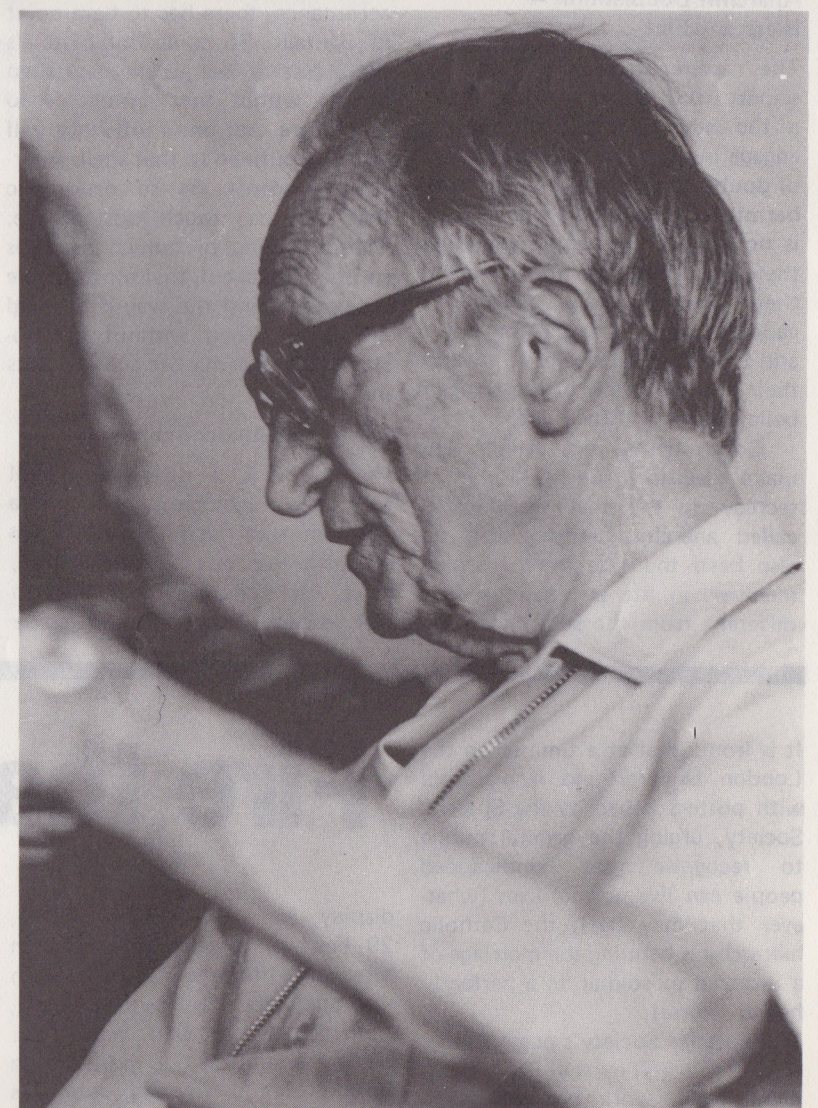
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At the beginning of the First World War in 1914 Souchy was arrested in Vienna (his warrant read *Beware! Anarchist!* which eventually provided the title of his autobiography) and handed over to the German authorities. But he managed to escape conscription and in 1915 he fled to Sweden, where he resumed anarchist and anti-militarist activity. In 1917 he was arrested for illegal propaganda against the German war-effort and expelled. As an 'undesirable alien' in the other Scandinavian countries, he lived in Denmark for two years under the name Johan Lundkvist. He was again arrested during an underground visit to Sweden and sentenced to six months' hard labour.

He then returned to Germany, which had lost the war and become a republic. He became active in the

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After spending a year in France, Souchy became editor of *Der Syndikalist* at the end of 1921. He also took an important part in the establishment of the anarcho-syndicalist international, the International Working Men's Association in Berlin at the end of 1922. For its first decade he was one of its three secretaries (together with Rudolf Rocker and Alexander Shapiro). Being the least prominent of them, he was in later years the most severely criticised, partly on the grounds that he travelled too much and worked too little, and also because of the loss of the papers of the IWMA, which were in his charge but were seized by the Nazis



Swedish *Arbetaren* and the American Yiddish *Freie Arbeiter Stimme*. In July 1936 he happened to be on a visit to Spain at the beginning of the Civil War and Revolution, and he was made responsible for the CNT external information office throughout the struggle, advising the Spanish anarcho-syndicalists about foreign relations, helping international libertarians who came to fight for the cause, and touring Western Europe to raise support for the Republic and the revolution. He wrote a pamphlet on *The Tragic*

first for the International Federation of Free Trade Unions and then for the International Labour Organisation, based in Geneva, but still travelling widely in Europe, North and South America and Africa.

Souchy officially retired in 1966, and settled in Munich, still working as a journalist and lecturer, and still travelling as much as possible. For example, when the dictatorship collapsed in Portugal in 1974, he said he had to go there at once 'to study the revolution', which he called his favourite occupation. He



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He then returned to Germany, which had lost the war and become a republic. He became active in the Free Working-Men's Union of Germany, the syndicalist organisation formed in 1919 under the influence of Rudolf Rocker, which became the largest anarchist organisation ever to exist in Germany. He became one of its main activists and writers in its weekly paper *Der Syndikalist*.

In 1920 he went (with Australian trade unionist Paul Freeman) as a representative of the German and Swedish syndicalists to visit the

National Working Men's Association in Berlin at the end of 1922. For its first decade he was one of its three secretaries (together with Rudolf Rocker and Alexander Shapiro). Being the least prominent of them, he was in later years the most severely criticised, partly on the grounds that he travelled too much and worked too little, and also because of the loss of the papers of the IWMA, which were in his charge but were seized by the Nazis when they took power in 1933. It should also be mentioned that Rocker always defended Souchy against such accusations.

In 1928 Souchy had helped to give shelter to Ascaso and Durruti, the Spanish militants who had fled across Latin America and Europe after assassinating the reactionary archbishop of Zaragoza. In 1931 he first visited Spain as a representative of the IWMA. In 1933 he fled to France, writing for papers like the

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In January 1939 he fled to France again. He was detained in an internment camp in Brittany, but succeeded in escaping before the German invasion and managed to make his way to Mexico. Here he spent most of the next twenty years, working as a journalist, trade unionist, and adviser for the education ministry. He made extensive visits around the world — to Cuba, Germany and Sweden, Israel and the United States. Eventually he became an 'educational expert',

the International Labour Organisation, based in Geneva, but still travelling widely in Europe, North and South America and Africa.

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Towards the end of his life he was often criticised by other anarchists for his very moderate views. Indeed it was sometimes difficult to tell whether he was not really a radical liberal or libertarian social-democrat; but he never ceased to call himself an anarchist, and when he was increasingly given the opportunity to express his views in the media during the 1960s and 1970s — especially on television — he always insisted on the positive value of anarchism, helping many people to lose their pathological fear of the term and then getting them to take the idea seriously. In this way he was probably able to put the anarchist message before more people than anyone else before or since. In the West German context, he described the Red Army Faction during the 1970s as 'wild children of the bourgeoisie' and insisted that they were not anarchists but elitist and dogmatic Marxist/Leninists. At the end of his life he wrote his memoirs — *Vorsicht: Anarchist! Ein Leben fur die Freiheit* (Beware: Anarchist! A life for Freedom, published in 1977, frequently reprinted), which was very successful. He remained active to the end, his last hopes being given to the international anti-war movement and to the youth of the world.

**B and WE**







Diego Abad de Santillan died in Barcelona on 18th October 1983. He was one of the last surviving figures of the Spanish Civil War, of the heroic years of Argentinian anarchism, and of the International Working Men's Association. He was a man of extraordinary activity and industry both as an organiser and as a writer. During his long life as a militant he moved from a revolutionary position to a moderate form of anarchism. His anarchism never was a closed world: he always tried to bring it 'up to date' with the developments in society, and he never changed his basic conception that anarchism formed part of a broad cultural and humanitarian tradition, based on social and individual freedom. He himself became part of that tradition, and for over sixty years he dedicated his great abilities to the cause. There were many failures in his long life as a militant, but he never lost

through his work as a translator, editor and stimulator, introduced German anarchist literature — by Gustav Landauer, Rudolf Rocker and Max Nettlau — to the Spanish speaking world, where they are today perhaps better known than in their native tongue.

In 1926 he was back in Argentina. Together with Lopez Arango he published a book on anarchism and the Labour movement, and he also wrote a history of the *FORA*. The anarchists remained very strikes, but became divided on the question of organized terrorism. Severino di Giovanni advocated and practised urban guerrilla a outrance, with assassinations and bank robberies. *La Protesta* continued to believe in the revolutionary mass struggle of the workers and opposed Di Giovanni's policy. Lopez Arango was murdered and Jacobo Prince badly injured in this fractional

# SANTILLAN

ment) of Catalunya. But especially after the 'tragic days' of May 1937, he became more and more critical of the appeasement policy adopted by the libertarian movement towards the counter-revolution of the Republican Government and the Communist Party. 'The revolution has lost almost all its conquests', he wrote in 1937, and he wanted to try and end the war. He lost all influence on political developments, but started the important review *Timon*. After the war he wrote *Porque perdimos la guerra* (Why we Lost the War, published in Buenos Aires in 1940). His son produced an important film under this title after Franco's death. Santillan's remark about the civil war — 'We sacrificed everything to win the war: we sacrificed even the revolution without realising that this meant that we sacrificed the goal of the war' — became well known.

In 1939 he returned to Buenos Aires and continued his extraordinary activity as an author, organiser of publishers and translator. Anarchist classics by Proudhon, Kropotkin, Godwin, Fabbri, and the Germans already mentioned thus became available to Spanish readers. He followed the movement, both of the Argentines and of the Spaniards in exile, and he continued to write in their periodicals, but he no longer played an active role as an organiser. He became a 'grand old man' of anarchism, always looking for innovation, a stimulator of old and young militants and an adviser of historians. Among his works are a three-volume history of the Spanish labour movement, an encyclopedia and a history of Argentina, a history of Tucuman, and a political history of Spain in the 1930's.

After Franco's death in 1976 he returned to Spain, full of hope and

with the intention of helping to found a libertarian publishing house. It soon turned out to be a deception, the project failed, and his moderate libertarian ideas — in his eyes the material situation of the workers in Spain has changed very much, so that there was no longer a revolutionary potential — were badly received by more intransigent comrades. In 1977 he published his memoirs down to 1936; when I asked him to continue the story in a second volume, he replied: 'Yes, when I am old!' Seeing no possibilities in Spain and being in bad health, he returned to Argentina — only to come back to spend his last years in Spain, with his family and among a few old comrades.

Rudolf de Jong

## 'POLITICAL' PRISONERS

I found it disturbing that an anarchist communist journal should publish uncritically Arthur Moysé's article 'Political Prisoners' (14 Jan 84). The anarchist move-

case of the question of the relationship between the political activist and the mass. It is a question of love, not of general philosophy, and love is always painful in this society. The

The grave may be classless, and no doubt we are all 'worms of the universe'. Society as it is, is not, however, classless, unfortunately. And so long as money and class



He was one of the last surviving figures of the Spanish Civil War, of the heroic years of Argentinian anarchism, and of the International Working Men's Association. He was a man of extraordinary activity and industry both as an organiser and as a writer. During his long life as a militant he moved from a revolutionary position to a moderate form of anarchism. His anarchism never was a closed world: he always tried to bring it 'up to date' with the developments in society, and he never changed his basic conception that anarchism formed part of a broad cultural and humanitarian tradition, based on social and individual freedom. He himself became part of that tradition, and for over sixty years he dedicated his great abilities to the cause. There were many failures in his long life as a militant, but he never lost his astonishing working power and his stimulating and inspiring state of mind.

Santillan — his real name was Sinesio Garcia Hernandez — was born on 20th May 1897 in Rezero, a small village in Leon in North-West Spain — a place, as he wrote in his memoirs, 'without any written history in the past and without any possibility for active history-making in the future'. In 1905 his family emigrated to Argentina and settled in Buenos Aires — a centre of anarchist history-making. Santillan had to leave school and look for a job when he was ten years old. He returned to Spain at the age of sixteen and studied in Leon, in Madrid at the university (Spanish literature and philosophy), and in prison (anarchist literature) after having been condemned for his part in the general strike of 1917.

After the amnesty of 1918 he returned to Argentina where anarchism dominated in the Labour movement. He soon became one of the most active militants around *La Protesta*, the daily paper of the anarcho-syndicist *FORA* (Federacion Obrera Regional Argentina), together with men like Kurt Wilckens.

German anarchist literature — by Gustav Landauer, Rudolf Rocker and Max Nettlau — to the Spanish speaking world, where they are today perhaps better known than in their native tongue.

In 1926 he was back in Argentina. Together with Lopez Arango he published a book on anarchism and the Labour movement, and he also wrote a history of the *FORA*. The anarchists remained very strikes, but became divided on the question of organized terrorism. Severino di Giovanni advocated and practised urban guerrilla a outrance, with assassinations and bank robberies. *La Protesta* continued to believe in the revolutionary mass struggle of the workers and opposed Di Giovanni's policy. Lopez Arango was murdered and Jacobo Prince badly injured in this fractional struggle, which demoralized the movement. Di Giovanni himself died bravely after a violent confrontation with the police.

In 1930 General Uriburu installed a military dictatorship in Argentina. *La Protesta* and *FORA* were suppressed: Santillan fled to Montevideo and tried for several years to fight the dictatorship from Uruguay and to continue *La Protesta*. In 1931, after the fall of the monarchy, he had visited Spain, and in 1934 he settled again in his native Here he was active in the FAI (the Iberian Anarchist Federation): for some time he was secretary of the Peninsular Committee. The weekly *Tierra y Libertad* and the review *Tiempos Nuevos*, edited by Santillan, were among the most important and original periodicals of the Spanish Libertarian movement in those days. Shortly before the Spanish Civil War he published *la Organizacion de la Revolucion*. This book (which appeared in an English translation in 1937 as *After the Revolution*), gives models for the organisation of all branches of economic life. However, rather than being an economic treatise, it deals with coordination of syndical unions after they have taken over the

Lost the War, published in Buenos Aires in 1940). His son produced an important film under this title after Franco's death. Santillan's remark about the civil war — 'We sacrificed everything to win the war: we sacrificed even the revolution without realising that this meant that we sacrificed the goal of the war' — became well known.

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and being in bad health, he returned to Argentina — only to come back to spend his last years in Spain, with his family and among a few old comrades.

**Rudolf de Jong**

# 'POLITICAL' PRISONERS

I found it disturbing that an anarchist communist journal should publish uncritically Arthur Moysé's article 'Political Prisoners' (14 Jan 84). The anarchist movement has and has had many political prisoners and martyrs. We do not make a cult of the political prisoner and martyr, but in all solidarity and fellowship we defend and honor those companions who fall foul of the system. Often they are among our best...

The question of the relationship of the political and common prisoner is a difficult one — it is a hard special

case of the question of the relationship between the political activist and the mass. It is a question of love, not of general philosophy, and love is always painful in this society. The echo and memory of Che Guevara. The question of whether to struggle for political status in a particular prison, within a particular national context, is more often than not a tactical choice: the Irish Republican hunger strikes, for example, were quite clear that common prisoners in Ulster would only benefit were their struggle for political status to be successful.

The grave may be classless, and no doubt we are all 'worms of the universe'. Society as it is, is not, however, classless, unfortunately. And so long as money and class continue, so long will the class struggle continue — until the proletarian abolishes class and money together. Why we die is more important, finally, than that we die.

There are two varieties of anarchism that are enough to make 'just anybody' walk out on the anarchist movement in disgust. One is 'philosophical anarchism' a la Moysé that stands aloof from the social struggle and that disdains political activism: very clever people no doubt.

The other is the irrational mindless violence that uses anarchism — or at any rate the word and symbols — as a cloak for its dagger. These two do actually have a secret relationship. Watch out.

'Jaybird'  
London

## The POLICE BEST BAND?

James Anderton, Chief Constable of Greater Manchester, has again been upset by the local police committee. In an attempt to meet government spending targets they have proposed breaking up the police band and returning the members to the beat. The possible



## Daniel

*Daniel* Directed by Sidney Lumet.

This film — based upon the Rosenberg case in the USA in the 1950's — is about the State versus the individual — in this case a Communist



García Hernández — was born on 20th May 1897 in Revero, a small village in Leon in North-West Spain — a place, as he wrote in his memoirs, 'without any written history in the past and without any possibility for active history-making in the future'. In 1905 his family emigrated to Argentina and settled in Buenos Aires — a centre of anarchist history-making. Santillan had to leave school and look for a job when he was ten years old. He returned to Spain at the age of sixteen and studied in Leon, in Madrid at the university (Spanish literature, and philosophy), and in prison (anarchist literature) after having been condemned for his part in the general strike of 1917.

After the amnesty of 1918 he returned to Argentina where anarchism dominated in the Labour movement. He soon became one of the most active militants around *La Protesta*, the daily paper of the anarcho-syndicist FORA (Federacion Obrera Regional Argentina), together with men like Kurt Wilckens, Lopez Arango, Enrique Nido. It was a time of intense social and revolutionary struggle in Argentina, the most important fight being the strike in Patagonia, bloodily repressed by the government.

From 1922 to 1926 Santillan worked and studied (medicine) in Berlin, in those days the centre of anarcho-syndicist IWMA. Here he met his life-long companion Elise, a daughter of the German militant Fritz Kater. He became acquainted with Rudolf Rocker, Theodor Plivier, Augustin Souchy, Alexander Berkman, Emma Goldman, Alexander Shapiro, Max Nettlau. He continued to write for *La Protesta* and its fine cultural supplement, and he edited the works of the Mexican anarchist Ricardo Flores Magon. It was Santillan who from his Berlin days,

in 1930 General Uriburu installed a military dictatorship in Argentina. *La Protesta* and FORA were suppressed: Santillan fled to Montevideo and tried for several years to fight the dictatorship from Uruguay and to continue *La Protesta*. In 1931, after the fall of the monarchy, he had visited Spain, and in 1934 he settled again in his native Here he was active in the FAI (the Iberian Anarchist Federation): for some time he was secretary of the Peninsular Committee. The weekly *Tierra y Libertad* and the review *Tiempos Nuevos*, edited by Santillan, were among the most important and original periodicals of the Spanish Libertarian movement in those days. Shortly before the Spanish Civil War he published *la Organizacion de la Revolucion*. This book (which appeared in an English translation in 1937 as *After the Revolution*), gives models for the organisation of all branches of economic life. However, rather than being an economic treatise, it deals with coordination of syndical unions after they have taken over the means of production. Although it did have influence, in that it convinced the militants of the necessity of coordination, the collectivisations of the factories and the pueblos in the eventual revolution were not based on the syndicates, as Santillan had proposed.

Santillan played an important role in the first period of the Civil War. In the Anti-Fascist Committee of the militias of Catalunya, formed after the heroic days of July 1936 to co-ordinate the struggle against the Nationalists, he was perhaps the most important organiser of the militias, of a war industry and of the co-ordination between the front, the militias and the rearguard. When the committee was dissolved, he became councillor for economic affairs of the Generalitat (Govern-

ment), but in all solidarity and fellowship we defend and honor those companions who fall foul of the system. Often they are among our best...

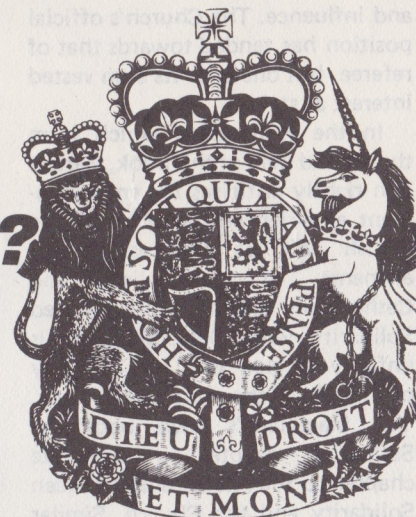
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## The POLICE BEST BAND?

James Anderton, Chief Constable of Greater Manchester, has again been upset by the local police committee. In an attempt to meet government spending targets they have proposed breaking up the police band and returning the members to the beat. The possible saving is estimated as £300,000. Mr Anderton would prefer to cut three new station sections and to reduce operational staff by 40. The band is the 'finest and most beneficial asset in the field of police public relations. For many people, including schoolchildren, the disadvantaged it is a reassuring link with a caring and protecting police force.' We are pleased to note this principled stand, especially in view of the current fashion for maintaining that people are reassured, cared and protected by policemen on the beat. We have, of course, no personal interest.

However, despite the uplift provided by Mr Anderton's defence of the performing arts, we are disappointed to note that Sir Keith Joseph has



fallen prey to fashionable orthodoxy. Sir Keith has a proud record of firm maintenance of views distinct from the mainstream. He has been gentleman enough to acknowledge errors, after he has carried out sweeping reforms, for example, in his local administration. Now, as Minister of Education, he has taken to making sweeping statements which are welcomed by the educational establishment. He has not stopped, at the risk of upsetting *Daily Telegraph* letter writers. He even suggests, 'Maybe if some children are less bored and feel themselves successful at school, there would be less hooliganism'. Although distressed by what can only be the thin end of the wedge of wet liberalism, we are heartened to note that his suggestions for reform are to make more people sit examinations.

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## Daniel

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This film — based upon the Rosenberg case in the USA in the 1950's — is about the State versus the individual — in this case a Communist who married and had a son and a younger daughter.

The argument that the State was justified in making an example of an idealist is beside the point; what is to the point is the effect on the two children. The parents are tried for treason — a long-drawn-out process in the US — and eventually executed. Consequently there are time shifts as the story progresses, with Daniel, the son, becoming hard and objective about the executions and his sister rebelling and eventually going mad.

This is an exceptionally well-made film. Sidney Lumet put his heart and soul into making it — and it shows. I have no criticism of the aesthetics but I found the time shifting confusing. It is worth seeing again — need I say more?

Paul Rothwell Hartmann



*Sacco-Vanzetti: Developments and Reconsiderations, 1979* Public Library of the City of Boston (£15)

This large format paperback, with 124 pages (including 12 pages of illustrations), contains the proceedings of a conference held in October 1979 to mark the presentation of the Felicani Collection of Sacco-Vanzetti material to the public library in Boston, Massachusetts, the town where the two anarchist martyrs were electrocuted in 1927. It was published in the United States in 1982 and is now available in Great Britain.

Aldino Felicani, an Italian immigrant like Sacco and Vanzetti, was one of their leading supporters in the anarchist movement, being treasurer of the Defence Fund and editor of several papers. He remained active until his death in 1967, and accumulated a huge collection of relevant material. His life and work were described in a session during which his sons formally presented the collection to the library, an

## A NEW LOOK AT Sacco & Vanzetti

event similar to the occasion in 1977 when the Governor of Massachusetts issued the proclamation officially declaring Sacco and Vanzetti innocent of the robbery for which they had been framed.

The opening session covered the complex legal and historical aspects of the case and the parts played by the Boston 'Brahmins' (the social elite of the New England state) and by literary intellectuals. The closing session offered various historical reconsiderations of the case, the most interesting being a discussion of the belief in Sacco's guilt held by the leading Italian-American anarchist Carlo Tresca, by his biographer Nunzio Pernicone.

The most interesting session from our point of view, taking about a third of the book, covered 'The

Anarchist Connection'. Paul Avrich describes the Italian-American movement to which Sacco and Vanzetti belonged; David Wieck describes the broader movement of which this was a part and also the pure form of anarchism expressed by Luigi Galleani, with whom Sacco and Vanzetti were mainly associated; and above all Robert D'Attilio describes the specific participation of Sacco and Vanzetti in more detail than is available elsewhere in English — indeed in so much detail that he ends by saying that 'the history of the Sacco-Vanzetti case must be substantially rewritten'. If that is, let us hope it is done quickly — and more cheaply than this very interesting but very expensive book. NW



## A NEW LOOK AT Solidarity

*The Polish Revolution: Solidarity 1980-82* by Timothy Garton Ash, Cape, £12.50.

The revolt of the Polish workers in the summer of 1980 led to the creation of Solidarity, the first independent trade union free of party and state control in Eastern Europe since 1945. By drawing in more than 10 million members —

Self Defence formed after the Radom strikes in the 1970s), with social catholicism was a critical factor in transforming isolated groups of rebellious individuals into a unified mass movement. Yet, in spite of its advocacy of human and civil rights in the face of authoritarian regimes, the Church has played an ambivalent part in the Polish

of Western capitalism, but a logical extension of a policy which the author fails to see.

Isolating the reasons for Solidarity's apparent failure to overcome the confrontation with the military is a difficult task but completely undertaken. The deliberately engineered industrial collapse and the consumer shortages reduced both sides' room for manoeuvre, encouraging the fragmentation and radicalisation of Solidarity which facilitated both the implementation of the coup and its subsequent justification. The military solution was in fact the only solution for the state once Kania failed to reach a workable accord with Solidarity. The perennial weakness of the Polish economy could not meet the radical economic concessions demanded by the union,

while an entrenched bureaucracy and divisions within the party hierarchy prevented political concessions. The government, however, was unable to gain the support of the working class without the concessions, and the goodwill of the workers was itself a precondition for economic recovery.

The military solution had been discarded in ruling circles for months yet still caught Solidarity off-guard. Almost over-confident, and overwhelmed with immediate problems, the union lacked any kind of contingency plan, or even any independent form of communication between the regions. Consequently the military arrested and interned thousands of activists who could have avoided arrest and contributed to the underground

struggle. If Jaruzelski has been able to inflict a savage defeat on Solidarity he remains unable to crush the working class itself or end the social stalemate that exists in post-coup Poland.

Garton Ash's book contains much useful factual and descriptive material and is notable for the genuine affection the author has for Poland's people. It does suffer from the failure to examine the country's social and political problems, and insufficient information about many of the people active in Solidarity and KOR, nevertheless it remains a fair account of what happened, written in readable style, although lacking the 'bite' which characterises the books by John Taylor, MacShane and others.

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'The times are past  
When they closed our mouths  
with sausage.'

Freelance writer and *Spectator* contributor Timothy Garton Ash has provided a journalistic, rather than analytical, account of the two crucial years between the birth of the mass movement in Gdansk's Lenin shipyard, and the military coup which forced Solidarity underground.

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In the Reflections which form the second part of this book, Garton Ash rightly criticises the embarrassment experienced by much of the British left at the paradoxical elements of nationalism and Catholicism which characterised Solidarity, while Denis MacShane is unfairly singled out for allegedly playing down the role of the Church.

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Martyn Everett

## BUÑUEL:

### POSTHUMOUS AUTOBIOGRAPHY

MY LAST BREATH —  
by LUIS BUNUEL

As far as autobiographies go this one is pretty scary and uncomfortable. Scary in that the Whole Series of events, both real and imagined, that are being recalled are overshadowed by the final chapter, Swan Song. In this chapter you get the real impression that once Bunuel has finished telling his last story to his collaborator, Jean-Claude Carriere, he is going to drop dead there and then at the table. Told as a series of reminiscences and anecdotes by means of digression rather than story telling, it resembles one long cafe table drinking session. Whereas most peo-

ple that in Hollywood everyone would assume he was on the skids and going to pieces. He'd never make another film in Hollywood again. We ought to be grateful that Bunuel was unsuccessful on 3 occasions at securing employment in Hollywood.

We learn from his early life that some of the images and fetishes that adorn Bunuel's film stem from his experiences in childhood and his Jesuit education. Born of a very wealthy family in a feudal and conservative area of Spain. ('the Middle Ages lasted until the 1st World War') together with his strict Catholic education his ideas on religion, death and sex were bound together

great many people who thought the Anarchists themselves were responsible for the death of Durruti.

But Bunuel spent most of the Civil War in Paris acting as a cross between a cultural attache organising benefits aid for the Republican side, and a sort of James Bond figure making clandestine journeys back to Spain with haversacks full of ..... literature. The greatest thing that made Bunuel disappointed despite being emotionally committed to Anarchism, was his intense hatred of fanaticism of any kind, and the excessive fanaticism he saw being displayed by the Anarchists in Spain more than just sickened him, he felt



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The introduction contains an excellent, but over-brief sketch of Polish history, outlining the factors from which the national identity was forged, specifically the identification of freedom with national independence — an identification welded in the bloody, but heroic insurrections of 1794, 1850-51 and 1905, and the special role of the intelligentsia in keeping alive the values of Polish culture. The social context which gave rise to Solidarity, the extraordinary institutionalised corruption and the privileges of the *nomenklatura* could have been emphasised more, and a discussion of pre-war syndicalism, and the political theories of Polish libertarian socialists such as Abramowski and Machajski would have been useful, insofar as they provided a pool of ideas for KOR thinkers.

Particular stress is placed on the unique relationship between Roman Catholicism and the collective national identity. Correctly so, for the convergence of the new left inclined opposition based around KOR (the Committee for Social

and religious superstition, and its outspoken stance against state censorship did not prevent attempts to stifle internal discussion on social and theological issues. Indeed the Church's whole relationship with Solidarity was ambiguous: it never gave unqualified support, and frequently used it as a bargaining counter to increase its own power and influence. The Church's official position has tended towards that of referee, but one with its own vested interest at stake.

In the Reflections which form the second part of this book, Garton Ash rightly criticises the embarrassment experienced by much of the British left at the paradoxical elements of nationalism and Catholicism which characterised Solidarity, while Denis MacShane is unfairly singled out for allegedly playing down the role of the Church. Yet MacShane's own book on Solidarity devotes a complete chapter to the relationship between Solidarity and the Church. Similar criticisms are levelled at the right's embarrassment at the socialist elements in the Solidarity programme.

Other targets selected by Garton Ash include the Western banks, which greeted the military take-over with relief — although the author lets them off the hook with the remark that it is 'perverse to blame the banks for behaving like banks', instead of situating their reaction, and the military clampdown, within the framework of the so-called Vodka-Cola economy that has developed in Eastern Europe. Repression in Eastern Europe ensures cheap labour, food and raw materials for the West, as well as underpinning the privileges of the 'red bourgeoisie'. In this respect the supply of truncheons, tear gas and riot grenades to ZOMO riot police was not an aberration on the part

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Following Andre Breton's maxim that authentic criticism 'can only exist as a form of love', I will state right away that I consider Bunuel to be the most original, most interesting, even most entertaining film director ever. He could knock spots off any of the great Hollywood directors both in technique and interpretation.

He recalls a story of how he was invited to lunch by Nicholas Ray and asked how he made such interesting movies on such low budgets and *always* ahead of schedule. In all but one of Bunuel's 30 odd films he has completed in 24 days or under. Bunuel reversed the tables and challenged Ray to make a movie for 400,000 dollars instead of the 5 million dollars one he had just made. Ray replied that if he was to try

that in Hollywood everyone would assume he was on the skids and going to pieces. He'd never make another film in Hollywood again. We ought to be grateful that Bunuel was unsuccessful on 3 occasions at securing employment in Hollywood.

We learn from his early life that some of the images and fetishes that adorn Bunuel's film stem from his experiences in childhood and his Jesuit education. Born of a very wealthy family in a feudal and conservative area of Spain. ('the Middle Ages lasted until the 1st World War') together with his strict Catholic education his ideas on religion, death and sex were bound together.

For Anarchists though, some of his experiences in the Spanish Civil War make interesting but painful reading. The light touch of a group of workers who drove to the outskirts of town to execute a statue of Christ: the shooting on sight of every priest — 'Come down and see. There's a dead priest in the street!' ran the popular song. The darker sides that emerged. The ceaseless and indiscriminate killing on both sides. The intense hatred of the Communists, probably more than that of the fascists, that the Anarchists had, prevented any chance of cooperation. There's a lot of stories of that type. The Anarchists shot the director and the engineer in a metallurgy factory in order to prove that the factory could function perfectly well when run by the workers. Needless to say on this occasion it couldn't. Or those Anarchists among Durruti's followers who wouldn't forgive him for the discipline he imposed on his troops, even suggesting that there was a

great many people who thought the Anarchists themselves were responsible for the death of Durruti.

But Bunuel spent most of the Civil War in Paris acting as a cross between a cultural attache organising benefits aid for the Republican side, and a sort of James Bond figure making clandestine journeys back to Spain with haversacks full of ..... literature. The greatest thing that made Bunuel disappointed despite being emotionally committed to Anarchism, was his intense hatred of fanaticism of any kind, and the excessive fanaticism he saw being displayed by the Anarchists in Spain more than just sickened him, he felt that the Revolution was being destroyed before it had even begun.

Bunuel's lack of clarity in memory and his great emphasis on dreams. 'Give me 2 hours of useful work and 22 hours of dreaming'; and he'll be alright, provided of course he'd be permitted to remember the dreams. This combination often blurs the difference between fact and fiction, something he shared in with his once great friend Salvador Dali, whose revelations in his first autobiography, *Secret Life*, got Bunuel the sack from the Museum of Modern Art.

Bunuel's reminiscences in the last chapter, as I have said, make harrowing reading and as if to make fate come quicker than necessary, whilst listing his old surrealist friends still living Juan Miro joined the list of those who have passed away.

Despite the pessimistic ending this remains a very pleasurable book to read full of anecdotes and insight about both Anarchists and Surrealists.

FRANCIS A WRIGHT.



# Women and men

## Anarcha-feminism or anarchists V. feminism?

There was an anarchist feminist day at the Anarchist Centre in Rosebery Avenue on Sunday, 29 January. A mixed session was followed by women only sessions, and possibly rather bewildered men-only sessions. My comments are limited to the mixed session in the morning.

I use the word 'bewildered' because men are often not sure what they're doing in men only groups; And I get the impression that some of the men came in bad faith, less willing to find out what anarchist feminism is about, than to defend themselves by demanding what makes them sexist anyway, they'd like to know, and let's get on with the real business, encouraging women to gain enough confidence to go along with the male comrades and beat up the class enemy (and NF). It wasn't surprising that, knowing what to expect from similar sessions in the past, many anarchist women didn't show up. What woman wants to listen to some classist cretin, high on class oppression, declaring that *he* doesn't give a *fuck* how miserable

a middle-class woman's sex life may be especially if she's middle class herself?

And, incidentally, does it only make the Greenham peace camp ideologically sound if there are *working class* women in it?

But communication was not helped very much by one or two of the more strident among the feminists. These are easily distinguished by the manner in which they walk into a room and at once complain that the conversation is being dominated by men. Whether or not this is actually true seems less important than to state it as a principle. Nor is there anything a man can do or say that doesn't provoke them to little shrieks of incredulity or supercilious tiltings of the eyebrow. If you make friendly conversation you're making a pass: if you look a woman directly in the eye you're leering at her lasciviously as only you, a man, know how. These women proclaim their womanhood like the Black Power movement proclaimed the beauty of blackness. So beset are they by the dangers of malevolent maleness all around them, so busy

are they with the worship of themselves as *women*, that they seem to have no interest whatsoever in the society of *people* which anarchists would like to see. The glorification of womanhood is, by definition, sexist. Male sexism can seem at times like a pale and puny imitation.

Having said this, readers may be surprised to know that —neither of these extremes predominating—it was a fairly good-humoured meeting, with much laughter. It's important to ask the questions that were being asked that Sunday: why are there not more women in anarchist groups? Where is the women's movement going and can it really go it alone, as many women seem to think? Mixed discussions on this theme may often be frustrating, they're never useless.

But I think it would help if, another time, there was a short introductory talk on the women's movement, on the growth of anarchist feminism and, not least, on what anarchist feminism means!

GAIA

## Hasleton demo

On Saturday the 28th January people gathered in the centre of Harrogate to express their disgust at the newly established Hazleton laboratories just outside Harrogate, and indeed the whole business of vivisection. Business it is indeed, as private companies like Hazleton offer their services to anyone so they can line their pockets. A very dirty way of making money.

We started with a rally in the centre of Harrogate. Organiser of the BUAV, Richard Adams (author of *Watership Down*) and a member of the Hazleton action Group, spoke to a thousand plus protesters who stood and listened patiently in the snow, many of whom had travelled from all over the country to get

reached the laboratory about the same time as the police who'd been drafted in. The laboratory was within two fences, an outer perimeter and inner perimeter. At first the police had the idea we weren't going anywhere, it soon changed as we walked to the gate and continued.

Once through the first fence police with and without dogs were positioned inside the inner fence whilst ordinary and mounted police were stationed between the inner and outer fence, as well as the protesters.

What followed was an hour and a half of a large snowball/ice attack on the police. At first it was the action of only a few until at least half

The mounted police decided to prove their worth and galloped at groups of people, dispersing us, only to see us regroup as they moved off somewhere else.

As the night closed in people began to leave, cold and wet, for their long journeys home. It was clear that nothing else was going to happen. The day had seen one arrest, one woman injured thanks to the actions of the police (funny how the ambulance took so long to turn up). I left wondering if we had achieved anything valuable for the animals rights movement. Had our actions been of any use to the animals or had the situation been used as a battleground to vent our anger towards the authority that we pay for, that stops us from entering the laboratories and



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The idea was to hold the rally and then march a circular route around Harrogate, going nowhere near the laboratory. We set off and circled the streets and filled the air with our chants and songs. A police escort, including six mounted police, stayed close, not quite sure what to do.

The march passed peacefully with only a window of a shop selling furs being cracked by a well aiming chunk of ice. As we came to the end of our route we continued to march, this time heading for Hazleton. We

reached the laboratory about the same time as the police who'd been drafted in. The laboratory was within two fences, an outer perimeter and inner perimeter. At first the police had the idea we weren't going anywhere, it soon changed as we walked to the gate and continued.

Once through the first fence police with and without dogs were positioned inside the inner fence whilst ordinary and mounted police were stationed between the inner and outer fence, as well as the protesters.

What followed was an hour and a half of a large snowball/ice attack on the police. At first it was the action of only a few until at least half were doing the same. The police, not sure of their ground, stood and took it, the humiliation of having their hats knocked off by snowballs wasn't easy to hide.

As the mist came down attention was turned to the inner fence. A small group of us, 50 or so, would run up to a part of the fence and begin to pull it down. The police would then come to the place of action leaving other parts of the fence unattended, which in turn was attacked. Meanwhile the police were running to and fro, not quite sure of where they should be.

The mounted police decided to prove their worth and galloped at groups of people, dispersing us, only to see us regroup as they moved off somewhere else.

As the night closed in people begun to leave, cold and wet, for their long journeys home. It was clear that nothing else was going to happen. The day had seen one arrest, one woman injured thanks to the actions of the police (funny how the ambulance took so long to turn up). I left wondering if we had achieved anything valuable for the animals rights movement. Had our actions been of any use to the animals or had the situation been used as a battleground to vent our anger towards the authority that we pay for, that stops us from entering the laboratories and freeing the animals? I still don't know.

As I walked away I imagined the animals inside and wondered what hope there was for a country that permitted such things.

There needs to be more actions like Hazleton, more breaking-in and getting out, more discussions, more campaigning and most of all a change of human thought. Through this lies a better society for all, both humans and animals.

**Howard  
Bradford**

## Mr X and the non-demo

I understand from one of my comrades at the local DAM that recently you published a letter of mine concerning a demo which was to have taken place at Menwith Hill. I never saw the letter in print because some time ago you stopped sending me papers. However, it is important that certain comments

couple more groups were represented. Some modifications were made to the original plan and plans were made about the printing of leaflets. It was still necessary to get more support and so the third meeting was arranged.

This meeting was a DISASTER. By that time, regional CND was

As a result of the influence which regional CND has, there will not be a demo at least until after 3rd March. Mr X, I hope you are satisfied. I would like to add that since CND is opposed only to nuclear arms (cf: Joan Ruddock speaking about 'The Day After') what was it doing at the meeting



## Mr X and the non-demo

I understand from one of my comrades at the local DAM that recently you published a letter of mine concerning a demo which was to have taken place at Menwith Hill. I never saw the letter in print because some time ago you stopped sending me papers. However, it is important that certain comments be made about why the demonstration did not take place.

Although the idea of demonstrating at Menwith Hill is not a new one, the initiative was taken by two individuals in this case (two school-friends of mine). They asked me if the Leeds DAM would be interested. I attended three planning meetings in my capacity as a member of an interested group.

The first meeting was poorly attended because it was poorly advertised. Despite this, a great deal was achieved. It was agreed that the demo should take place in mid-January, that transport should be left up to local groups etc, etc. Some-one was also put in charge of press-releases, some-one else would look into legal matters and so on. Every-one was very hopeful that it would be a success. A second meeting was arranged to find out exactly how many were likely to attend — ie, if it was worth continuing.

Pretty much the same people attended the second meeting as had attended the first, except that a

couple more groups were represented. Some modifications were made to the original plan and plans were made about the printing of leaflets. It was still necessary to get more support and so the third meeting was arranged.

This meeting was a DISASTER. By that time, regional CND was interested. Local CND had been represented throughout but this was the first time a regional or national group had shown any interest. Various groups had sent delegates, one of whom was from Yorkshire and Garforth CND. This man I shall refer to as Mr X. Mr X and his cronies said that 28th January was too soon. Because they had swamped the meeting, it was decided that nothing should be done until 3rd March. (No, not a demo — another meeting!) Mr X droned on and on and on until he was interrupted by some-one from Selby, who said: 'I have been in CND for 23 years, and for all that time its organisation has been fucking abysmal.' Mr X replied, saying 'Now there's no need for language like that.' The Selby comrade continued by saying that the cruise-missile was the best thing that ever happened to CND, and the only thing which was powerful enough to stop the decline that it was stuck in. This failed to change the mood of the meeting, however.

hope there was for a country that permitted such things.

There needs to be more actions like Hazleton, more breaking-in and getting out, more discussions, more campaigning and most of all a change of human thought. Through this lies a better society for all, both humans and animals.

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As a result of the influence which regional CND has, there will not be a demo at least until after 3rd March. Mr X, I hope you are satisfied. I would like to add that since CND is opposed only to *nuclear* arms (cf: Joan Ruddock speaking about 'The Day After') what was it doing at the meeting anyway? There are no missiles at Menwith. Mr X asked me what the DAM stood for. As soon as I said the word 'anarchist' I was made the subject of what can only be described as a witch-hunt by several *middle-class bastards* like Mr X. Since Menwith is engaged in the monitoring of the 'phones of dangerous subversives like me, I am not surprised to know that Mr X is trying to stop the demo there.

I would like to warn those who are arranging a demonstration for the first time to watch out for traitors and back-sliders like Mr X. I would also like to recommend to all members of CND that they leave as soon as possible and start their own de-centralised groups. I must have some sympathisers out there if only 35,000 turned-up on October 22nd, out of 400,000 members. If any local groups can lend their support, then we could pre-empt CND and re-start the demo.

Remember the warning.

Unity, **William Gaskill**

(Irrepressible of Leeds)



## NATIONAL

### ABERDEEN

Subversive Graffiti Collective, c/o 163 King Street, Aberdeen (includes the ex-members of Aberdeen Solidarity). Activities include production of a local free news-sheet.

### BASILDON

Mark, 27 Little Lullaway, Basildon, Essex.

### BEDFORDSHIRE

Bedfordshire and Isolated Anarchists, write to: John 81F Bromham Road, Bradford, MK40 2AH.

### BELFAST

Just Books, 7 Winetavern Street, Belfast.

### BIRMINGHAM

Birmingham DAM, c/o Peace Centre, 18 Moor Street, Ringway, Birmingham.

### BOLTON

'New World in our Hearts' — ten weekly meetings on aspects of libertarian thought and action. Bolton Metropolitan College, Manchester Road Centre — Thursdays 7pm, from 26th January. Details: ring Bolton 42869.

### BRACKNELL

Bracknell Anarchists, Box 21, 17 Chatham Street, Reading, Berks.

### BRADFORD

'Peoples Squat for Life', Peace Centre, The Waldo Centre, Ivanhoe Road, Bradford 7, West Yorkshire.

### BRISTOL

Box 010, Full Marks Bookshop, 197 Cheltenham Road, Bristol 6. The Peace Centre, 1 Picton Street, Montpelier, Bristol BS6. Open 11am-5pm Monday to Friday, 11am-4pm on Saturday, some Sundays and late nights.

### BURNLEY

BAG, c/o 2 Quarrybank

### CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge Anarchist Group and East Anglian Anarchist Federation, Box A, c/o Cambridge Free Press, 25 Gwydir Street, Cambridge.

### CARDIFF

COI, Box 999, c/o 108 Bookshop, 108 Salisbury Road, Cardiff 2.

### CLEVELAND

c/o Liverton Crescent, Thornby. Also produces 'Common Cause', local anarchist paper. Box A, c/o 120 Victoria Road, Middlesbrough.

### CRAWLEY

Libertarian Group, Ray Cowper, 1 Bluebell Close, Crawley, W Sussex.

### CUMBRIA

2 Forestry Cottages, Millfield, Hutton Roof, Penrith, Cumbria.

### DONCASTER

c/o PO Box 217 Sheffield.

### ESSEX

DAM, Martyn Evrett, 11 Gibson Gardens, Saffron Walden, Essex. Oral Abortions, The Catskills, Maldon Road, Gay Bowers, Danbury.

### EXETER

Anarchist Collective, c/o Community Association, Devonshire House, Stocker Road, Exeter.

### FALKIRK

Black Bairn, c/o Box 3, 488 Great Western Road, Glasgow.

### FORMBY

Floating Free, 58 Freshfield Road, Formby, Merseyside L3 73HW.

### GLASGOW

'Practical Anarchy' (monthly free broadsheet, send large SAE), c/o Box 3 Calderwood. 15/GPP pamphlets c/o Box V2 At Glasgow Bookshop Collective, 488 Great Western Road, Glasgow G12. (Kilwinbridge subway).

### GRAVESEND

Adrian, Lodge House, By Valley Lodge, Ifield Way, Gravesend, Kent.

### HUDDERSFIELD

Huddersfield Anarchist Group & DAM, c/o Peaceworks, 58 Wakefield Road, Huddersfield.

### HULL

DAM, Box HAG, c/o LAP, 59 Cookridge Street, Leeds.

### KEELE

Keele University A Group, R Knight, c/o Students Union, The University, Keele, Staffs.

### KEIGHLEY

Anarchists, c/o Simon Saxton, 1 Selbourne Grove, Keighley, West Yorkshire, BD21 2SL.

### LANCASTER and MORECAMBE

CARGO CULT, 38 Bradshaw Street Lancaster. This is the ONLY address for the area!

### LEEDS

Leeds Anarchist Group, Box LAP A, 59 Cookridge Street, Leeds, LS2 3AW. Leeds Direct Action Movement, Box DAM, 59 Cookridge Street, Leeds LS2 3AW.

### LEICESTER

Blackthorn Books, 70 High Street, Leicester.

Libertarian Education, 6 Beaconsfield Road, Leicester. Tel: 552085. The Anarchist Society, Societies Room, Students Union Building, University of Leicester, University Road, LE1 7RH.

### LIVERPOOL

Box LAG, c/o 82 Lark Lane, Liverpool 17.

Discordians, Liverpool Students Union, Brownlow Hill, Liverpool, Merseyside. North West Anarchist Federation, 224 Garston Old Road, Liverpool 19, Merseyside.

### LONDON

Anarchy Magazine, Box A, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1.

FREEDOM Collective, Angel Alley, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1. Tel: 01-247 9249. (Aldgate East tube).

Greenpeace, 6 Endsleigh Street, London WC1. Meet Thursdays, 7pm.

London Workers Group, c/o Little A, C1 Metropolitan Wharf, Wapping Wall, London E1.

121 Books/Anarchist Centre, 121 Raiton Road, London SE24. Tel: 01-274 6655. Contact address for: Anarchist-Feminist Magazine; Pigs for Slaughter; South London Anarchist Group (SLAG); South London DAM; also London Anarchist Youth Group meet every Friday at 121, 7:30pm.

Martin Nicholas, 111 Reed Road, Tottenham, London N17.

K Potkin, Student Mail, Polytechnic of Central London, 32-38 Wells Street, London WC1.

Solidarity, (London Group and editorial group), c/o 123 Latham Road, London E6.

## NEW CONTACT

**NORTH LONDON POLY ANARCHISTS**  
C/o The Student's Union, Ladbroke House, Highbury Grove, London N5.

### MACCLESFIELD

Brandon Spivey, 37 Fallibroome Road, Broken Cross, Macclesfield, Cheshire.

### MANCHESTER

DAM, Wildcat, Aware Multimedia and South Manchester A Group, 8-10 Great Ancoats Street, Manchester M4 5AD. Black & Red Society (Anarchist Group), c/o The Students Union, University of Manchester, Oxford Road, Manchester.

### MIDDLESBOROUGH

Strike Back, Box A, 120 Victoria Road, Middlesbrough.

### NORTH STAFFS.

Careless Talk Collective, R Knight, c/o Students Union, The University, Keele, Staffs.

### NORWICH

Norwich Anarchist Group, c/o Box 6, Freewheel, 52-54 King Street, Norwich.

### NOTTINGHAM

Nottingham Anarchist Group, Box A, Mushroom Bookshop, 10 Heathcote Street, Nottingham. Tel: 582506.

### OLDHAM

Nigel Broadbent, 14 Westminster Road, Fallsworth.

### ORPINGTON

Rik Fuller, 60 Ramsden Road, Orpington, Kent.

### SUSSEX

Brighton Anarchists, c/o Students Union, Falmer House, University of Sussex, Brighton, East Sussex. Hastings Anarchists & Poison Pen, 92 London Road, St Leonards-on-Sea, Sussex.

Sussex Anarchist Society, c/o Hastings Anarchist Group.

Libertarian Group, Ray Cowper, 1 Bluebell Close, Crawley, W Sussex.

### SWANSEA

Anarchist Group, Box 5, Neges, 31 Alexandra Road, Swansea. Billy, 63 Clynymaes Place, Bonymaes, Swansea.

### TAYSIDE

Josh Cowan, 3/R, 17 Cheviot Crescent, Dundee, DD4 9QJ.

### TYNE-AND-WEAR

Newcastle Anarchist Group, c/o 2 Priory Court, High Street, Gateshead, Tyne-and-Wear NE8 3JL.

### WAKEFIELD

Anarchist and Peace Group, c/o Fazackerley, 36 Bowan Street, Agbrigg, Wakefield, West Yorkshire.

### WEST WALES

Terry Phillips, 7 Heol Nant, Felinfoel, Llanelli, Dyfed, SA14 8EL.

### WATFORD

Watford and area Anarchists (WAAA), c/o 135 Gammons Lane, Watford, Herts.

### YORK

Shell 22, 73 Walmgate, York.

To Richard who was at Pilton and sent FREEDOM an article on the convoy that they didn't print. Can you get in touch with me care of FREEDOM? Mo.

Could Brian Stratton and Mike Diboll contact A Distribution (address as FREEDOM) as we want to give them money.

Has anyone got any information on the Workers Councils of Hungary 1956, books, pamphlets or even titles of the same. I am doing a project on the Councils and would appreciate any help. All articles will be returned and the completed work will be made available to the Anarchist Press to use as it wishes. Many thanks. Bill Wells, 45 Argyle street, Cambridge, CB1 3LR.

Anarchist Presence at 1984 Festivals. Books, papers, food, social contact, propaganda. Those interested in getting it together, contact Alan, Mo, Dennis at FREEDOM, 84b Whitechapel High street, London E1. A good opportunity to contact many already on the way.

## LONDON

### CENTRAL LONDON

DISCUSSION MEETINGS: Every Friday



The Wildo Centre, Ivanhoe Road, Bradford 7, West Yorkshire.

**BRISTOL**  
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**CUMBRIA**  
2 Forestry Cottages, Millfield, Hutton Roof, Penrith, Cumbria.

## ■ BOOKS FROM FREEDOM BOOKSHOP

In Angel Alley, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1.

Please add postage as in brackets. Items marked \* are published in the USA. N. American purchasers please convert £1 — plus postage — at \$ 1.50 (US) and \$ 1.90 (Canada).

Illustrated catalogue available. Please send SAE 9"x 6" (21p) or 2 International reply coupons.

Emma Goldman: Una mujer en la tormenta del siglo (in Spanish) by Jose Pierats. (312pp ppr) £2.25 (60p).

The Guillotine at Work: Vol 1. The Leninist Counter-revolution by Gregory P Maximoff (337pp cloth) £6 (95p) (Note: only one volume is available).

### DEFICIT FUND

Donations received December 8th — 31st incl.

London SE18 FY £1; Wolverhampton JL £4.50; JKW £1.50; London N16 LF £3; The Hague RL £2.90.

TOTAL=£12.90

Previously acknowledged=£2198.48

TOTAL FOR 1983=£2211.38

### PREMISES/OVERHEADS FUND

Donations received December 8th — 31st incl.

London SE26 JAB £16; Bath CP £20; London SE18 FY £1; Wolverhampton JL £4.50; London N16 LF

**HULL**  
DAM, Box HAG, c/o LAP, 59 Cookridge Street, Leeds.

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The Anarchist Society, Societies Room, Students Union Building, University of Leicester, University Road, LE1 7RH.

Mary and the Wrongs of Woman by Mary Wollstonecraft (231pp ppr) £1.75 (40p).

Piecing it Together: Feminism and non-violence by the Feminism and non-violence study group. (50pp ppr) £1.50 (27p).

The Coming of the Spanish Civil War: Reform, Reaction and Revolution in the Second Republic by Paul Preston (264pp ppr) £5.95 (65p).

Anarchy. Bound Volumes VII - X incl. covering 1967-1970 (issues 71-118). 4 vols. cloth. (400pp per vol) £7 (95p) per vol.

\*The Populist Manifestos by Lawrence Ferlinghetti (44pp ppr) £2.75 (27p).

### Bookshop Notes

Part of anarchist propaganda is setting out criticisms of non-anarchist thought, especially Marxism, the authoritarian fallacy in whose name half the people of the world are repressed. The bookshop currently has four titles dealing with aspects of Marxism (They're all post free).

The struggle against Fascism begins with the struggle against Bolshevism by Otto Ruhle (20pp) 50p, is a council-communist pamphlet from 1939 showing the similarities between the Bolshevik dictatorships in Russia and the Fascist dictatorships in Italy and Germany.

Marxism versus Reality by Brian Mosely (46pp) £1, is a detailed exposition of and attack on Karl Marx's thought, plus a few odds and ends.

The Poverty of Statism by Bukharin/Fabbri/Booker (92pp) £2, is a collection of articles

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**ORPINGTON**  
Rik Fuller, 60 Ramsden Road, Orpington, Kent.

**OXFORD**  
Oxford Anarchists, 34 Cowley Road, Oxford.

**PLYMOUTH**  
Anarchists, 115 St Pancras Avenue, Pennycross, Plymouth.

**PORTSMOUTH**  
Portsmouth area Anarchists Group, c/o Gerry Richardson, 25 Beresford Close, Waterlooville, Hants.

**READING**  
Reading Anarchists, Box 19, Acorn Bookshop, 17 Chatham Street, Reading, Berks.

**RHONDDA**  
Rhondda and mid Glamorgan, Henning Anderson, 'Smiths Arms', Treherbert, Mid Glamorgan, Wales.

**SHEFFIELD**  
Libertarian Society, PO Box 168, Sheffield 1.

**SHEFFIELD**  
Sheffield Anarchists, PO Box 217, Sheffield. Also Sheffield University Anarchists  
Sheffield Peace Action, 69 Rustlings Road, Sheffield 11.  
NEAF Secretariat, Box 168, Sheffield 11.

**SOUTHAMPTON**  
Southern Stress, c/o October Books, 4 Onslow Road, Southampton.

**SOUTH WALES**  
DAM, c/o Smiths Arms, Baglan Road, Treherbert, Mid Glamorgan. Write for anarcho-syndicalist contacts in Treherbert, Rhondda, Pontypridd, Penarth, Barry and Cardiff areas.

**YORK**  
Shell 22, 73 Walmgate, York.

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## LONDON

### CENTRAL LONDON

DISCUSSION MEETINGS: Every Friday at Mary Ward Centre, 42 Queens Square, WC1, at 8pm sharp:

Feb 10: Jeff cloves on William Morris and the Revolution of 1952! (The year foretold in 'New from Nowhere')

Feb 17: Charles Crute on Politics and Population.

Feb 24: Colin Johnson (co-author 'Cured to Death') on Anarchism — Male or Female Philosophy?

Mar 2: Howard Richmond (solicitor) on The new Police Bill.

### LECTURE

Revolutionary Collectives, by FRANK MINTZ. Room E125, Queen Mary's College, Mile End Road, London E1.

Tuesday 21st February at 5pm.

### MANCHESTER

'20th Century Revolutions' A series of public meeting, organised jointly by cat', DAM and Manchester Anarchists.

Altneat Wednesdays, 7:45 at the Town Hall Tavern, Tib Lane Manchester.

Feb 15th: Spain 1935-36

Feb 29th: Poland 1981

Mar 14th: The Coming Revolution.

### WALES

Welsh Anarchist Federation. 'Is the Fed Dead? — Are you willing to find out? Two day Conference in CARDIFF. 25-26 February, at 1 Trade Street, (about 5 mins walk from rail and bus station).

Some topics: Anarchists in prison; Squatting and housing: Libertarian schools. Contact Box 666, 108 Bookshop, 108 Salisbury Road, Cathys, Caerdydd.

### FREEDOM BOOKSHOP

and

### FREEDOM EDITORIAL COLLECTIVE

are both at

84B WHITECHAPEL HIGH ST  
LONDON E1.

Phone 01-247 9249



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Illustrated catalogue available.  
Please send SAE 9"x 6" (21p) or 2  
International reply coupons.  
Emma Goldman: *Una mujer en la*  
*tormenta del siglo* (in Spanish) by Jose  
Pierats. (312pp ppr) £2.25 (60p).  
The Guillotine at Work: Vol 1. The  
Leninist Counter-revolution by Gregory  
P Maximoff (337pp cloth) £6 (95p)  
(Note: only one volume is available).

#### DEFICIT FUND

Donations received December 8th –  
31st incl.

London SE18 FY £1; Wolverhampton  
JL £4.50; JKW £1.50; London  
N16 LF £3; The Hague RL £2.90.

TOTAL=£12.90

Previously acknowledged=£2198.48

TOTAL FOR 1983=£2211.38

#### PREMISES/OVERHEADS FUND

Donations received December 8th –  
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London SE26 JAB £16; Bath CP  
£20; London SE18 FY £1; Wolverhampton  
JL £9; London N16 LF  
£3; London NW8 DS £8; London  
SW20 RA £4.50; W. Germany AE  
50p; London NW6 BAS £1; The  
Hague RL £2.90; Cambridge BW  
£1.50.

TOTAL=£67.40

Previously acknowledged=£1257.59

TOTAL FOR 1983=£1324.49

Many thanks to everyone.

The Coming of the Spanish Civil War;  
Reform, Reaction and Revolution in the  
Second Republic by Paul Preston (264pp  
ppr) £5.95 (65p).  
Anarchy. Bound Volumes VII - X incl.  
covering 1967-1970 (issues 71-118).  
4 vols. cloth. (400pp per vol) £7 (95p)  
per vol.  
\*The Populist Manifestos by Lawrence  
Ferlinghetti (44pp ppr) £2.75 (27p).

#### Bookshop Notes

Part of anarchist propaganda is setting out  
criticisms of non-anarchist thought, especially  
Marxism, the authoritarian fallacy in whose  
name half the people of the world are  
repressed. The bookshop currently has four  
titles dealing with aspects of Marxism  
(They're all post free).

The struggle against Fascism begins with the  
struggle against Bolshevism by Otto Ruhle  
(20pp) 50p, is a council-communist pamphlet  
from 1939 showing the similarities between  
the Bolshevik dictatorships in Russia and the  
Fascist dictatorships in Italy and Germany.

Marxism versus Reality by Brian Mosely  
(46pp) £1, is a detailed exposition of and  
attack on Karl Marx's thought, plus a few  
odds and ends.

The Poverty of Statism by Bukharin/Fabbri/  
Rocker (93pp) £2, is a collection of articles  
by various authors, including an attack on  
anarchism by the Russian Bolshevik Bukharin  
who was executed by Stalin in 1938. Fabbri's  
piece replies to Bukharin, and Rocker's two  
articles are largely about the origins of  
anarchist and Marxist ideas.

Anarchism and Marxism by Daniel Guerin  
(23pp) 50p, suggests that anarchism and  
Marxism should be reconciled. Everyone  
has their faults, but this is ridiculous.  
Chairperson Mo

PORTSMOUTH  
Portsmouth area Anarchists Group, c/o  
Gerry Richardson, 25 Beresford Close,  
Waterlooville, Hants.

#### READING

Reading Anarchists, Box 19, Acorn  
Bookshop, 17 Chatham Street, Reading,  
Berks.

#### RHONDDA

Rhondda and mid Glamorgan, Henning  
Anderson, 'Smiths Arms', Trehebert,  
Mid Glamorgan, Wales.

#### SHEFFIELD

Libertarian Society, PO Box 168,  
Sheffield 1.

#### SHEFFIELD

Sheffield Anarchists, PO Box 217, Shef-  
field. Also Sheffield University Anarchists  
Sheffield Peace Action, 69 Rustlings  
Road, Sheffield 11.  
NEAF Secretariat, Box 168, Sheffield 11.

#### SOUTHAMPTON

Southern Stress, c/o October Books,  
4 Onslow Road, Southampton.

#### SOUTH WALES

DAM, c/o Smiths Arms, Baglan Road,  
Treherbert, Mid Glamorgan. Write for  
anarcho-syndicalist contacts in Treher-  
bert, Rhondda, Pontypridd, Penarth,  
Barry and Cardiff areas.

#### SOUTH WORCESTERSHIRE/NORTH GLUCESTERSHIRE

Deb, 41 Southcourt Close, Leckhampton,  
Cheltenham. OR c/o 30 Ashdale Avenue,  
Pershore, Worcs.

#### STAFFORD

Anarchist Communists, c/o R Black,  
Students Union, North Staffs Polytechnic,  
Beaconside, Stafford.

#### STOKE

Contact point for North West Anarchist  
Federation, Careless Talk Collective, R  
Knight, c/o Students' Union, The Univer-  
sity, Keele, Staffs.

Feb 17: Charles Crute on Politics and  
Population.  
Feb 24: Colin Johnson (co-author 'Cured  
to Death') on Anarchism -Male or Fe-  
male Philosophy?  
Mar 2: Howard Richmond (solicitor) on  
The new Police Bill.

#### LECTURE

Revolutionary Collectives, by FRANK  
MINTZ. Room E125, Queen Mary's Col-  
lege, Mile End Road, London E1.  
Tuesday 21st February at 5pm.

#### MANCHESTER

'20th Century Revolutions' A series of  
public meeting, organised jointly by  
cat', DAM and Manchester Anarchists.  
Altneat Wednesdays, 7:45 at the Town  
Hall Tavern, Tib Lane Manchester.  
Feb 15th: Spain 1935-36  
Feb 29th: Poland 1981  
Mar 14th: The Coming Revolution.

#### WALES

Welsh Anarchist Federation. 'Is the Fed  
Dead? -Are you willing to find out? Two  
day Conference in CARDIFF. 25-26 feb-  
ruary, at 1 Trade Street, (about 5 mins  
walk from rail and bus station).  
Some topics: Anarchists in prison; Squat-  
ting and housing: Libertarian schools.  
Contact Box 666, 108 Bookshop, 108  
Salisbury Road, Cathys, Caerdydd.

#### PUBLICATIONS

BLACKSTAR. Vol 2 Out soon! Place your  
orders now! Includes 'The Master's Inter-  
est', 'Kronstadt' and the 64,000 dollar  
question: 'Is Anarchism the Answer?'  
No 1 still available -contains a tribute to  
Guy Aldred! Please contact: Black Star,  
PO Box 153, Wolverton, Milton Keynes,  
Bucks, UK.

